

Intercultural Contacts in the Medieval Mediterranean



*edited by
Benjamin Arbel*

INTERCULTURAL CONTACTS IN THE MEDIEVAL MEDITERRANEAN

STUDIES IN HONOUR OF DAVID JACOBY

Edited by
BENJAMIN ARBEL

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Foreword

David Jacoby needs no introduction to anyone acquainted with the history of the the medieval Mediterranean. For several decades he has been at the centre of scholarly activity in this field, publishing many original studies and participating in numerous scientific meetings, always contributing sharp insights of his own to discussions on many subjects. Originally trained as a Byzantinist, Jacoby has always insisted on being considered as a historian of the medieval Mediterranean, and his many writings, though largely centred on the eastern Mediterranean and on the contacts between Latins and Greeks, reflect this ambition. In fact, his historical work covers a very wide field, and he has never limited himself to a single aspect of historical research. His book on the feudal code of Frankish Greece, *The Assises de Romanie*, which shows how legal history can be treated in all its complexity, taking into consideration social, political, and cultural aspects, has been acclaimed by the scholarly community as a masterpiece of historical analysis.¹ His studies on Byzantine demography, on Byzantine institutions, on the transformation of Greek society following the stormy events of the Fourth Crusade, on Venetian overseas colonies, on Venetian shipping and trade, on Frankish Cyprus, on the Jewries of the eastern Mediterranean in the later Middle Ages, on the Byzantine economy, on urban development in the Latin East, and on intercultural contacts in the eastern Mediterranean have been landmarks in the study of these issues. A number of these have been assembled in the three volumes of collected studies by Jacoby published so far in the series of Variorum Reprints.²

1. *La féodalité en Grèce médiévale. Les 'Assises de Romanie', sources, application et diffusion* (Paris, 1971).
2. *Société et démographie à Byzance et en Romanie latine* (London, 1975); *Recherches sur la Méditerranée orientale du XII^e au XV^e siècle: Peuples, sociétés, économies* (London, 1979); *Studies in the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion* (London, 1989).

David Jacoby is retiring from his teaching activity at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem at the height of varied and intensive scientific activity. Most colleagues were unaware of his age and were greatly surprised to hear that he has reached the age of retirement. There is no doubt however, that his vigorous and untiring historical curiosity and his indefatigable interest in many fields will now continue on an even greater scale. For David Jacoby, this is undoubtedly only another station on a route which continues to look promising and full of exciting discoveries.

It was impossible to impose a pre-established and rigid plan on the 23 scholars who have collaborated in the present volume. The term 'intercultural contacts' has therefore been conceived in a wide perspective, comprising not only cultural connections in the narrower sense (including religious and scientific links), but also political, military, technological, ethnic, social, and institutional relationships. The themes of the different articles were suggested by their authors, and only in a few cases did I consider it necessary to intervene to bring them more in line with the general framework. With the exception of one paper, all the studies included in this volume cover the period to which David Jacoby dedicated his extensive research. They present various aspects of a world which, during the medieval centuries, was an arena of continuous contacts between cultures, ethnicities, polities, and individuals of various countries, all of whom, while preserving their basic identities and in spite of endless conflicts between them, were largely interdependent and mutually related by a complex system of visible and invisible bonds.

The limitations resulting from various editorial and technical constraints rendered the choice of contributors to this collection rather difficult. As happens in every selection of this kind, there are certainly several among David Jacoby's friends and colleagues who would have liked to take part in this endeavour, but could not be included for one reason or another. I have done my best to include those historians of the medieval Mediterranean who, I know, have been close to Jacoby for many years, collaborated with him in their scholarly activities, have been involved, together with Jacoby, in the publication of the journal *Mediterranean Historical Review*, and were at the same time available and willing to comply with our editorial demands. The initiative generally met with great enthusiasm. A few among those who had been asked to participate expressed their deep regret for being unable to meet with the rather short time-limit imposed for this publication. Since Jacoby, to the best of my knowledge, was unaware of all this until the

last moment, I myself take full responsibility for any blunders, expressing my sincere regret for not being able to include everybody who would have wished to take part in this initiative.

Finally, special thanks go to Ann Ussishkin for her careful treatment of the difficult texts included in this volume.

The Editor

The Aragonese Kingdom of Albania: An Angevin Project of 1311-1316

David Abulafia

The theme of this study is the project launched by the Angevin king of Naples in 1311 to exchange the Kingdom of 'Trinacria', ruled by Frederick of Aragon, for a new set of Aragonese possessions consisting of a kingdom in Albania and lands in Achaia further south. The hope was to resolve by diplomacy the constant tension between Neapolitan aspirations to restore the rule of the house of Anjou in Sicily on the one hand and the wish of James II of Aragon to create a permanent peace in the western Mediterranean on the other hand. This is not simply, however, an episode in the history of Sicily and of the Balkans. Sardinia and Corsica were also eventually placed in the scales as it became evident that Frederick of Sicily was unconvinced by the offer of Albania; both islands had already been conferred on James of Aragon as part of the series of deals that brought the War of the Sicilian Vespers to an end between 1297 and 1302, but, remaining unconquered, they seemed to the court of Naples a suitable alternative to Sicily, Albania, and Achaia.

The project for the acquisition of Albania arose at an unpropitious moment for Aragonese involvement in the affairs of Greece and neighbouring lands. Paradoxically, the presence in Greece of the Catalan Company made the situation less, not more, stable as far as Aragonese interests were concerned. The Catalans had acquired the Duchy of Athens by battle without the direction of the king of Aragon (1311), though a year later the conquerors came to recognize the loose authority of Frederick of Sicily over them.¹ The Catalan duchy intruded itself into a political arena already characterized by bitter infighting

1. K.M. Setton, *The Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311-88* (Cambridge, MA, 1948); L.N. d'Oliver, *L'expansió de Catalunya en la Mediterrània oriental*, 2nd edn. (Barcelona, 1974); F. Giunta, *Aragoneses y catalanes en el Mediterráneo*, trans. J. Bigozzi (Barcelona, 1989).

between factions loyal to the house of Anjou, the king of France and indeed other masters in the Greek world. It was therefore a tall order to suggest that the king of Trinacria should abandon a relatively peaceful island kingdom, which had begun to recover from 20 years of bitter warfare with the Angevins, for lands in turmoil in Greece and for a shadowy Kingdom of Albania, which lacked any administrative structure and which was torn apart by a startling variety of local interests.

In Albania, this was a period of particularly acute uncertainty. The Albanian historian Pëllumb Xhufi sees in the period 1306-7 an intensification of the conflict in the zone around Durazzo (Dyrrachium) between the supporters of the Byzantine emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos and Angevin troops under the command of Philip of Taranto, who was the son of King Charles II of Naples, and lord of Achaia and of the Kingdom of Albania. One result was that Durazzo itself capitulated to the Angevins, but the root of the problem lay in the assumption among the Albanian nobles themselves that only the Angevins were capable of helping resist their enemies in the region, in particular the Greeks loyal to Emperor Andronikos.² In order to consolidate their position in the Balkans, the Angevins also sought closer ties with other Balkan neighbours, in particular with the rulers of Serbia. A quick look at the antecedents of this policy will help explain Angevin priorities in the region.

Towards the end of the reign of Charles II (1285-1309) the issue of Neapolitan control of the western Balkans had a particular significance, bringing with it the hope of establishing Angevin dominion over the eastern shores of the Adriatic and over the Ionian Sea, areas in which there was a very long tradition of involvement by the rulers of southern Italy. There were two fundamental aspirations at work here, which neatly coincided: the consolidation of Angevin naval power in the waters around the Neapolitan kingdom, creating a *cordon sanitaire* impervious to Aragonese or other intruders; and also the assumption of a prime role in the struggle against schismatic Greeks and Muslims in the aftermath of the fall of Acre in 1291, a period when the lack of a secure Latin base in the east (other than Cyprus) generated a variety of approaches to the problem of how to restore Latin authority in the eastern Mediterranean. Since the reign of Charles I of Anjou the kings

2. P. Xhufi, 'Albania and the Kingdom of Sicily in the time of Manfred Hohenstaufen and Charles I and Charles II of Anjou', *Journal of Medieval History*, forthcoming.

of Naples had taken a firm line opposing compromises with the Greeks, and supporting attempts to revive the short-lived Latin Empire of Constantinople; the creation of an Angevin dominion in Albania by Charles was part both of that policy and of a more restricted, Adriatic-based, policy of affirming Angevin hegemony in the central Mediterranean (a dimension of Angevin policy that tends to be forgotten under the overpowering glare of the attraction of Constantinople).

The recovery of Latin power within Greece after 1300 offered the opportunity to relaunch the eastern policy of the house of Anjou on the basis of existing power relationships in the Balkans; Charles II's plans did not, therefore, solely consist of dreams of a massive crusade in which the flower of European knighthood would participate. The practical manifestation of this policy was visible in attempts to subjugate the Despotate of Epiros, the territory just south of Albania proper, in a delicate position between the lands controlled by the Byzantine emperor, by the Serbs, and by the supporters of the house of Anjou in the western Morea.³ It is evident that Philip of Taranto aspired to the realization of his presumptive rights in Albania, Epiros, and western Greece, rights acquired in a controversial enough setting following his marriage to Tamar (Catherine), daughter of Nikēphoros, despot of Epiros, in 1294.⁴ Indeed, part of the anticipated arrangement was that Philip would in due course succeed his father-in-law as ruler of Epiros.

Donald Nicol has argued that the result of this alliance was nothing less than the virtually total subjection of Epiros to Charles II of Anjou, around 1300; the presence in the region of Angevin administrative

3. The fundamental study of Epiros is that of D.M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros 1267-1479: A Contribution to the History of Greece in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 60-61. For the earlier history of Epiros up to 1267 see D.M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros* (Oxford, 1957), and the same author's valuable 'The Relations of Charles of Anjou with Nikephoros of Epiros', *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 4 (1972), 170-94. There is a powerful tradition among British historians of expounding the narrative history of late medieval Greece: W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant: A History of Frankish Greece 1204-1566* (London, 1908); id., *Essays on the Latin Orient* (Cambridge, 1921); Sir Rennell Rodd, *The Princes of Achaia and the Chronicles of the Morea*, 2 vols. (London, 1907). Among recent studies see also A.E. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins: The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II* (Cambridge, MA, 1972), particularly for the Catalans in Greece and for the legacy of Charles of Valois.
4. Nicol, *Despotate of Epiros 1267-1479*, pp. 44-9; for a brief biography of this princess, see D.M. Nicol, *The Byzantine Lady: Ten Portraits, 1250-1500* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 24-32.

officials confirmed that Neapolitan domination was a stark reality; meanwhile, the existence of Angevin power bases in Corfu and on Cephalonia (which was ruled by a line of Orsini counts formally dependent on Naples) meant that the house of Anjou had a stranglehold on the western coasts of Greece.⁵ Yet succession rights in Epiros did not prove so easy to obtain. When Nikēphoros of Epiros died his widow Anna refused to place the despotate in the hands of the Angevins, with the result that the Neapolitans sent in an invasion force in 1304-6 under the command of Philip of Taranto, and acquired (at greater expense than the limited results justified) bases at Butrint, Lepanto (Naupaktos), and Vonitsa.⁶ Still, these were gains that were valuable in the confirmation of Angevin naval hegemony, even if control did not extend any great distance inland. Further north, Philip's eyes alighted on the half-forgotten Albanian kingdom created by his grandfather Charles I, possession of which would put considerable pressure on any number of enemies: the rebel Epirotes to the south, the schismatic Greeks to the east.⁷ Whereas Charles I clearly saw the possession of Albania as the opening of a back door leading towards Constantinople, Philip's aims seem at this point to have been more localized, with the assertion of Neapolitan control of the southern Adriatic and the Ionian Sea a particular objective. Yet this policy was subject to change; in 1309 Philip abandoned the unhappy Thamar who was accused, probably unjustly, of flagrant adultery, and found a new wife with an even more extensive, and even more contested, legacy in the East: Catherine of Valois brought with her the title to the Latin Empire of Constantinople, which had ceased actually to exist nearly half a century earlier. As a result, Philip's energies began to turn more towards the Aegean, and the difficult task he had been set of establishing a secure Angevin dominion in the western Balkans became much less attractive. As a result, a vacuum began to open up in the area of Albania and Achaia.

It was as a result of these changes in his fortune that Philip could contemplate the exchange of his own Albanian dominion for Sicily; this exchange after all brought him no obvious direct benefit in territory, since he was to give up his own lands and his brother Robert, the new king of Naples, was to be the beneficiary of the abandonment of Sicily

5. Nicol, *Despotate of Epiros 1267-1479*, p. 50.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 56-61.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 68. The aid of the papacy was expressed in the wish to aid the Latin Church, in particular Latin priests said to have been oppressed by the Greeks.

by Frederick of Trinacria. It is thus essential to look more closely at the exact terms of the arrangement as recorded in the documents of the *Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó*.⁸ In the spring of 1311 King Robert of Naples wrote to James II of Aragon to present to him the text of an agreement dated 28 April 1311, between himself and Philip, prince of Achaia, *dominum regni Albanie et despotum Romanie*.⁹ The king of Naples promised to try to *procurare seu obtinere* a modification to the treaty of Caltabellotta of 1302, according to which Frederick of Aragon had been permitted to hold the island of Sicily with the title 'king of Trinacria' for the duration of his life, without the possibility of passing Sicily to his heirs; Philip of Taranto indicated his own preparedness to sell to the king of Naples his rights in Albania:

Regnum Albanie cum civitate et castro Durachii aliisque civitatibus terris et locis, castris, fortelliciis, hominibus, iuribus et pertinentiis eiusdem regni omnibus que nunc tenet seu que tempore dicte assignationis faciende tenebit, cum plenaria cessione et translatione omnium iurium et accionum eidem domino principi quocumque iure seu titulo pertinentium in ipso regno Albanie, tam in domaniis, quam in feudis et ceteris quibuscumque, tam eorum, que tenet et tempore dicte assignationis tenebit, quam eorum que per Grecos seu quoscumque alios scismaticos detinetur et detineretur.

From this it is abundantly clear that the acquisition of Albania did not offer the chance to gain control of a territory already securely under Angevin rule, for Angevin power was on the retreat in the region, and it is really rather doubtful whether the Angevins controlled anything beyond the environs of Durazzo.¹⁰ Robert of Naples was unable to deny

8. *Acta et diplomata res Albanie mediae aetatis illustrantia, collegerunt et digesserunt*, Ludovicus de Thalloczy, Constantinus Jireček et Emilianus de Sufflay, Vol. I, annos 344-1343 continens (Vienna, 1913); H. Finke (ed.), *Acta Aragonensia. Quellen zur deutschen, italienischen, französischen, spanischen, zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte aus der diplomatischen Korrespondenz Jaymes II. (1291-1327)*, Vol. II (Berlin – Leipzig, 1908).

9. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, No. 443, pp. 704-5 (summary); Thalloczy *et al.*, No. 597, pp. 177-9 (text).

10. For the origins of the Angevin dominion in Albania, see P. Xhufi, 'Shqiptarët përballë anzhuinëve (1267-1285)', *Studime Historike* (1987), 199-222, with a French summary; Nicol, 'Relations of Charles of Anjou'; also special mention must be made of the outstanding work of A. Ducellier, in particular *La façade maritime de l'Albanie au Moyen Age. Durazzo et Valona du XI^e au XV^e siècle* (Salonica, 1981).

that there existed on the ground a strong Greek opposition, led by the princes of Epiros, and that there were also Slav factions hostile to Angevin interests. A further complication was the crisis generated by the Catalan victory at Almyros in March 1311, when the duke of Athens, Walter of Brienne, lost his life fighting against the freebooting Catalan mercenaries whom he had once hoped (like so many others) to control; first of all he aspired to an opportunistic alliance with the Catalans, and then he found himself facing a ruthless and irresistible force which managed to take his entire duchy from under his feet. The foundation of a Catalan duchy of Athens further decisively altered the political map of Greece, resulting in the long term in a series of proxy wars between supporters of the Angevin and of the Catalan interest in southern Greece.

Interesting in the letter of King Robert is not just the concession to Frederick of the title 'King of Albania', but also of rights in the principality of Achaia. Philip was for his part to receive a handsome financial settlement: 70 thousand ounces of gold, a sum which would represent a large hole in the Angevin treasury but also a hole that could eventually be filled with the substantial revenues to be expected from a reoccupied island of Sicily. For the moment, the sum was to be drawn from the general taxes of the Kingdom of Naples, payable in four instalments, the first at the time of the assignment of the title to Albania and Achaia, and then a further quarter for each of three years. Yet there was a pessimistic awareness that such an arrangement might not turn out so well after all; Mediterranean politics were not so stable that the possibility of further war between the Aragonese and the Angevins could be excluded even within the next three years. Were such a conflict to break out between the kings of Sicily *ultra* and *citra* the Faro, Prince Philip was to be compensated for his co-operation in the project with a grant from the gabelles of the Kingdom of Naples. In any event, the king of Naples had only three years in which to convince Frederick of Trinacria to make the suggested exchange of territories, and if he failed, the prince of Taranto for his part would be absolved from all obligations arising from the treaty between him and the king of Naples, who was his *dominum* not merely in the principality but also in the Albanian kingdom, which up to now Philip had held from him as his subordinate. Behind this willingness to trade Albania and Achaia for a large pile of gold can be seen Philip's new and more ambitious plans in the East, consequent upon his marriage to Catherine of Valois and the re-activation of the Latin claim to Constantinople.

James II of Aragon had himself begun the process of exchanging Sicily for other territories towards the end of his own brief reign as ruler

of Sicily between 1285 and 1296; on his accession to the throne of Aragon itself in 1291 he began to consider the return of Sicily to the house of Anjou, notwithstanding the growing evidence that the Sicilian baronage would rather retain him, or failing that his younger brother Frederick, as their ruler, both being seen as the heirs through their Sicilian mother to the house of Hohenstaufen. Boniface VIII agreed to the cession of the *regnum Sardinie et Corsice* after other possibilities had been considered, among them Cyprus which was occasionally targeted by the Aragonese as a possible acquisition, particularly since the local Lusignan dynasty was not held in high esteem by the papacy and by other Latin rulers. It is unlikely that James II saw his offer to return Sicily to the Angevins as anything more than a manoeuvre to obtain papal goodwill and a chance of peace in the western Mediterranean, since his relations with his brother Frederick were still cordial after Frederick had been elected king of Sicily by his supporters and after James had joined the Angevin war against Frederick; James's participation in this conflict was maintained in a generally low key, and his interest in Italian politics lay increasingly not in the submission of Sicily but in the accretion of influence in the central Italian cities. While the peace of Caltabellotta confirmed the title of Frederick to Sicily (if only as 'king of Trinacria'), the house of Anjou suffered a serious loss of income from what had been a major revenue-earning part of their old kingdom. Thus the peaceful cession of the island was bound to be an issue on the agenda even in 1311. A further important factor was the presence in Italy at this juncture of the Holy Roman Emperor Henry VII of Luxemburg, who began to develop warm ties with Frederick of Trinacria, and whose policies in the north of Italy clashed directly with the interests of the Guelf allies of the house of Anjou.¹¹ Thus the needs of the king of Naples were clear; the danger of being squeezed between an aggressive Aragonese king of Sicily and an aggressive Holy Roman Emperor were more than he could bear to face. What is perhaps more surprising is the relatively favourable attitude of the king of Aragon to the proposal to grant Frederick lands in the Balkans in lieu of Sicily. Already in 1309 James II had been hoping to

11. W.M. Bowsky, *Henry VII in Italy: The Conflict of Empire and City-State, 1310-1313* (Lincoln, NB, 1960), pp. 4-5, 14, 53, 124, 137, 157, 161-2, 169-70. The intensification of the relationship between the king of Trinacria and Emperor Henry in 1312 gave rise to great difficulties at the court of Naples; see the discussion of the theoretical as well as practical implications by K. Pennington, *The Prince and the Law: Sovereignty and Rights in the Western Legal Tradition* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1993), pp. 165-201.

arrange the cession to Frederick of the title to the lost Kingdom of Jerusalem (a title already contested, of course, between the kings of Naples and those of Cyprus).¹² What we see at work, therefore, is a tentative eastern policy designed to insert the Aragonese royal house into the confused political world of Greece, Cyprus, and the eastern Mediterranean.

In this light a letter written in Valencia by James of Aragon on 5 March 1312 makes sense; it was sent to Frederick of Trinacria ten months after the initial approach by Robert of Naples to James of Aragon.¹³ This second letter makes it plain that the delay in negotiations had resulted from the death of Arnau de Vilanova, the famous mystic and medical practitioner who was active for some time at the court of Frederick of Trinacria. James's letter mentions the great if implausible advantages of the Albanian kingdom as related to him by Robert of Naples: the kingdom *es molt noble e rich*, and the cession of Albania would also involve the grant of Durazzo (just as well, considering that there was not really much more to grant). But James knew full well that the king of Trinacria had no intention of following this road: *e que vos, germa, non avets vulgut fer*. The king of Naples, according to James, was prepared to offer substantial subsidies for the conquest of Albania and Achaia, a point which must have seemed to confirm the genuine difficulty involved in gaining control of the kingdom: 'Encara nos ha fet saber en les dites letres lo dit G. que otra les coses damunt dites vos assignava de vostra vida lo rey Robert alguna part de les rendes de la isla de Sicilia en ajuda de conquerre lo regne Dalbania'. James's letter also makes it plain that the negotiations between the various parties were set on a different track when the problem of the future of the Kingdom of Trinacria was brought under discussion. Frederick was clear in his aspiration to found a new dynasty which would hold the island permanently, despite past agreements, and it was this, rather than the issue of Albania and Achaia, that came to dominate negotiations between Naples and Sicily. Frederick even seems to have advanced the position that the king of Naples was not genuinely hostile to the maintenance of an independent Aragonese

12. P.W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191-1374* (Cambridge, 1991); N.J. Housley, *The Italian Crusades: The Papal-Angevin Alliance and the Crusades against Christian Lay Powers, 1254-1343* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 84-5; J.N. Hillgarth, *Ramon Lull and Lullism in Fourteenth-Century France* (Oxford – London, 1971), p. 66, n. 61.

13. Thalloczy *et al.*, No. 602, p. 180 (summary); Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, No. 445, pp. 706-8 (text).

dynasty in Sicily; such delicate issues, and such vain hopes, soon created a fog around the Albanian project. Indeed, what mattered for Frederick was not the Albanian question, which obviously never seriously took his fancy, but the opportunity to create an open channel of communication with his Angevin rivals, through which he could make plain his extreme reluctance to allow his family's title to Sicily to lapse after his death, whatever might have been agreed in 1302.

Robert was not prepared to let go of Sicily so easily. By offering Frederick Albania and Achaia, Robert stood to regain the *part principal de nostre regne*, Sicily, as he stated in a letter written to James II on 3 February 1314.¹⁴ At this point the crisis between Robert of Anjou and Henry of Luxemburg had been unexpectedly resolved, with the death of the emperor in 1313. Thus Robert renewed his hope for the recovery of Sicily, this time without having to defeat a great imperial-Ghibelline-Trinacrian alliance against him, as had seemed necessary in 1312-13. Looking the other way, Philip of Taranto's increasing wish to involve himself in the central Byzantine lands meant that Albania and Achaia were readily disposable to another ruler. If that ruler were to be Frederick of Trinacria, all well and good, since he would be so tied up in the internal politics of the western Balkans that he would surely never pose a threat to Angevin interests in either Italy or Byzantium. The aim, in other words, was to ensure that Frederick would become lost in the thickets of Balkan politics, out of which there was no known escape.

In reality, Frederick had not the slightest illusion about the difficulty in making royal authority real in Albania and in Achaia amid the conflicting interests of Greeks, Slavs, Albanians, and Franks; in any case, he was now working hard to extend his authority within Sicily after the 20 years of disorder generated by the War of the Vespers, which had resulted in severe dislocation of the economic, ecclesiastical, and political life of the island.¹⁵ This is not to say that Frederick lacked an eastern policy; he gave his support to his cousin Ferrando of Majorca, who dreamed of re-establishing the principality of Achaia with the help of his wife Isabella, of Frankish ancestry, and of Frederick himself. Ferrando arrived in the region in 1308, hoping to bring the

14. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, No. 447, p. 712. The date of the letter is not absolutely certain.

15. On this see C. Backman, *The Decline and Fall of Medieval Sicily* (Cambridge, 1995), a study of the reign of Frederick III that places some emphasis on the reconstruction of royal authority in the island, and the serious problems involved in the reaffirmation of Aragonese power in Sicily.

Catalan Company under his control; and he came again in 1313, but his presence only increased the instability in a world characterized by sharp confrontations between the Catalan mercenaries, the Frankish lords, and the Greek irredentists.¹⁶ King Frederick sent aid in 1315, hoping to confirm his own lordship in Achaia without the approval, support, or wish of the king of Naples. Thus just now the Aragonese of Sicily, the Angevins of Naples, and also allies of the king of France were all contesting the lordship of Achaia: when Ferrando lost his life at Manolada, in 1316, this Majorcan prince was fighting against the armies of Louis of Burgundy, supported by King Philip the Fair of France.¹⁷ With the victory of the Burgundian faction the court of Naples was prompted to reconsider its policy, with the result that Robert reaffirmed his own direct control over the Achaian lands from 1317 onwards; Louis died soon after his victory, and his widow, Mahaut, was seized by the Neapolitans, who took her from Achaia to the Castel dell'Ovo in Naples, where she was kept securely under guard. Thus western Greece returned for a few years to the sphere of influence of the house of Anjou.¹⁸

At the same time, the king of Naples resumed his interest in a diplomatic solution to the problem of Sicily. Alain Ducellier has argued that the original project of 1311 was dead after 1314, since the three years stipulated in the original document for the settlement of financial and territorial claims were now past.¹⁹ But in reality the king of Naples could not let go of the Albanian project, and rather than forgetting it he began to vary his approach, substituting other offers, such as the revenues from Tunis or Aragonese rights in Sardinia and Corsica, for the grant of Achaia and Albania. The Franciscan emissary Ponç Carbonell, sent to Palermo and Naples by James II of Aragon, was struck by the fact that both kings of Sicily, that of Naples and that of Trinacria, insisted on their peaceful intentions:

Noscat igitur vestra sublimis maiestas, ambos reges fore super facto pacis diversarum voluntatum, licet uterque dicat se velle

16. For a recent study of Ferrando, see B. Berg, 'The Moreote Expedition of Ferrando of Majorca in the Aragonese Chronicle of Morea', *Byzantion*, 55 (1985); see also the *Libro de los fechos et conquistas del principado de la Morea*, ed. A. Morel-Fatio (Geneva, 1885).

17. For a brief narrative of the events, see N. Cheetham, *Medieval Greece* (New Haven, 1981), pp. 143-6.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 146-7.

19. Ducellier, *La façade maritime*, pp. 331-2.

pacem et concordiam. Et maxime in hoc est controversia, quod dominus rex Fredericus nullo modo vult facere pacem, nisi insula libere sibi et suis filiis remaneret, et dominus rex Robertus nullo modo vult consentire, quod filii eius habeant, nec etiam ipsemet dominus rex Fredericus in vita sua, set, si forte haberet concedere, dicit, quod non concederet hoc etiam pro vita domini regis Frederici, nisi traderetur sibi aliqua castra Sicilie pro cautione et pactis firmissis observandis.²⁰

The solution was therefore to find another kingdom for Frederick and his sons, such as Sardinia and Corsica:²¹

Concedit etiam inter alia, quod, si videretur et placeret vobis ei concedere ius Sardinie et Corsice, que quidem acquirere ac adquisita retinere difficile videtur: tum propter communitatum potentiam, tum etiam propter condicionem terre non sanam, ipse libenter acquireret pro vobis vel uno filiorum vestrorum aliquod regnum in Romania, vel etiam illud, pro que me misistis, vel recompensaret in pecunia, secundum quod conveniens videretur, ita tamen, quod tradito regno Sardinie et Corsice domino regi Frederico vel eius filiis, quod propter propinquitatem, quam habet cum Catalonia, esset sibi forsitan magis gratum, insula Sicilie sibi libere redderetur.²²

Sardinia, then, was a mixed blessing, an unhealthy land full of contending parties; but if James felt the loss was too great, Robert would gladly provide a piece of the former Byzantine Empire as compensation. But Robert's prime energies were naturally directed to Sicily; indeed, the king of Naples implored the aid of the king of Aragon (appropriately enough) in such a project: 'Et insuper, quod vos teneretis aliqua loca sive castra Sicilie pro huiusmodi adimplendis'.²³

20. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, No. 448, p. 715.

21. For Aragonese and Angevin policies at this time in relation to the question of Sardinia, see F.C. Casula, *La Sardegna aragonese. 1. La Corona d'Aragona* (Sassari, 1990), pp. 106-10, where the author justly indicates that the years from 1314 to 1323 have been ignored by historians such as V. Salavert y Roca, *Cerdeña y la expansión mediterránea de la Corona de Aragón, 1297-1314*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1956), and A. Arribas Palau, *La conquista de Cerdeña por Jaime II de Aragón* (Barcelona, 1952), who have concentrated on the prior or subsequent years.

22. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, No. 448, p. 716.

23. Ibid.

An interesting point in the discussions was the refusal of the king of Trinacria to accept the overall dominion of the king of Naples on the model of the relationship between the king of Majorca and his overlord the king of Aragon; this was hardly the most propitious model anyway:

Dominus quoque rex non vult consentire, quod filii sui tenerent insulam pro domino rege Roberto vel suis, sicut regnum Maioricarum tenetur pro rege Aragonum, nec ullo alio modo senioritatis, set bene consentiret habere mutuam societatem adinvicem, quod excepta ecclesia et rege Aragonum ambo essent contra quocumque alium et mutuo se iuvarent.²⁴

Naturally, for the king of Naples such a response was quite unacceptable. However, the king of Aragon did not abandon the project of acquiring Sicily by diplomatic means, presumably with little real hope of success.

Thus, between September 1316 and May 1317 Robert of Naples wrote to James of Aragon to propose formally the granting of Sardinia to Frederick of Sicily, together with the property of the Templars in southern Italy, which was valued at 50,000 ounces, with an additional 100,000 ounces of gold. Another possibility offered to Frederick was the island of Sardinia together with all the revenues received by the rulers of Sicily from the king of Tunis, but in that case he could not have the 100,000 ounces. In conquering Sardinia, he would be able to count on the aid of Robert, who would supply 30 galleys for five years, or otherwise would offer money to cover the cost of operating a similar fleet. This time Robert was asking for only half of Sicily, and was actually prepared to leave Frederick in charge of the other half of the island; for instance, one could have the Val Demone from Messina to Castrogiovanni (Enna), the other the rest. Robert apparently assumed that once he had a permanent foothold on the island it would be hard ever to displace him, all the more so while Frederick was absent campaigning in Sardinia. Another possible offer, still very much in Robert's mind, was the exchange of Sicily for Albania and Achaia, as before, but with the additional concession that half of Sicily would be left in Frederick's charge during his lifetime.²⁵ Thus the project of 1311

24. Ibid; on this relationship, see D. Abulafia, 'The Problem of the Kingdom of Majorca. 1. Political Identity', *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 5 (1990), 150-68; id., *A Mediterranean Emporium: The Catalan Kingdom of Majorca* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 34-55.

25. Thalloczy *et al.*, No. 629, p. 186; Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, No. 449, p. 718.

was far from forgotten, even if the principle was extended to other, perhaps more palatable, offers such as Sardinia. Not that Sardinia was so much more attractive than Albania, for it too was a land of competing factions, Pisan, Genoese, and home-grown, while past projects for its incorporation into either the realms of Aragon or those of Anjou had come to nothing beyond the grant of the title to Sardinia to James II in 1297.²⁶

In reality the king of Trinacria well saw that the time was ripe for a return to more conventional ways of sorting out the rivalry of Anjou and Aragon within the Italian South. In 1316 the armies of the two kings clashed in Calabria, while Frederick laid plans for new naval projects in Greek waters.²⁷ The intention of Frederick was to force Robert's hand, to make it plain that the house of Aragon had no intention of abandoning its rights on the island to anyone else, and that he was perfectly capable of maintaining an active role in the politics of the east Mediterranean on his own, without having to rely on the patronage and authority of the king of Naples in Albania, Achaia, or any other corner of the now fragmented Byzantine Empire.

26. Abulafia, *Mediterranean Emporium*, pp. 235-48.

27. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, No. 450, pp. 718-26.

Roger of Lauria's Expedition to the Peloponnese

Gabriella Airaldi

The Genoese chronicler Jacopo Doria describes how, in June 1292, Admiral Roger of Lauria prepared 20 galleys with 40 horses on board and set sail from Sicily towards 'Romania'. He laid everything to waste on the island of Corfu, sparing only the castle; on reaching Monemvasia, he attacked the town and destroyed it, demanding and obtaining a ransom for the men and women whom he held captive on the galleys. He then sacked and devastated the island of Chios and again obtained a ransom for the prisoners. The chronicler observed: 'There is no need to dwell upon the great displeasure that this caused the emperor of Constantinople.'¹

Narrated with the characteristic simplicity and dryness of this celebrated chronicler, this episode was considered by him to be one of the most significant events of that particular year. As a matter of fact, it annoyed not only the Byzantine emperor but undoubtedly the Genoese as well. As is well known, their trading routes led to Chios and Monemvasia, before reaching the Black Sea, which they controlled, and they therefore once again suffered considerable damage. But there was perhaps another reason for their displeasure at that time. In any case, the chronicler only mentioned certain locations, while neglecting others which, as shown below, were also affected by the admiral's actions.

It is no coincidence that Jacopo Doria placed the story of this event among others of a similar nature, which clearly demonstrate the state of war and acts of piracy which occurred at that time. This particular episode is narrated immediately after another in which the same admiral was indirectly involved. The Genoese had attacked a ship carrying a cargo of wheat, sent by the admiral from Sicily to the Pisans.

1. Jacopo Doria, *Annali Genovesi*, in *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e dei suoi continuatori*, ed. L.T. Belgrano and C. Imperiale di Sant'Angelo (Rome, 1890-92), pp. 145-6.

As the chronicle reports, rapid diplomatic amends were made, because 'the Genoese feared the admiral, who was not a man to forget injury or offence'.

Both these episodes formed part of a series of turbulent events marking increased friction in relations between Genoa and the Crown of Aragon between 1291 and 1292. The rift began in 1291 (as the chronicler recalls) after James II of Sicily came to the throne of Aragon and declared himself King of Aragon, Sicily, Majorca, and Valencia, leaving his brother Frederick as prince regent in Sicily. This was the first step towards the complications that would lead to the political isolation of Sicily and its detachment from the Kingdom of Aragon.

In May 1291 a decisive political change had also occurred in Genoa. The Ghibelline captains had fallen from power and Genoese policy, though ostensibly neutral, began to turn to new directions.

Lauria's raid, which has frequently been analysed by historians (more as an isolated episode than a fact of greater importance), is not merely a typical episode in the general deterioration of that time.² This is demonstrated by the fact that others besides the Genoese related it in great detail or gave it special emphasis. The differing versions which have survived are all significant and all deserve to be taken into consideration.

To begin with, there is the much-debated account contained in Marino Sanudo's *Istoria del regno di Romania*:

And I have been told by messer Ruzero del Oria in person, that his going to Romania was with the intention of sacking and causing damage to the land of the emperor, because the said emperor had promised to pay the King of Aragon 60,000 *lipperi* a year for as long as the war lasted, and also because the said King of Aragon claimed 6,000 ounces of gold from the emperor for a certain lady ('una certa madonna') from the Kingdom of Sicily, who had been married to the emperor who was then reigning and who was related to King Manfred. . .'.³

2. M. Amari, *La Guerra del Vespro Siciliano* (Palermo, 1969, [1843]), Vol. I, pp. 461-2; G. Caro, *Genova e la sua supremazia nel Mediterraneo* (Genoa, 1974, [1899]), Vol. I, pp. 153-84; C. Manfroni, *Storia della marina italiana*, Vol. II (Livorno, 1902), pp. 173-4; A.E. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins* (Cambridge, MA, 1972), pp. 46-7; M. Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, Vol. II (Genoa, 1978), p. 58.
3. Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Istoria del Regno di Romania*, in *Chroniques gréco-romaines inédites ou peu connues*, ed. C. Hopf (Berlin, 1983), p. 133. 'E ho

Historians have given credit to this explanation, believing that the 'madonna di Sicilia' is a reference to Costanza, illegitimate daughter of Frederick II of Hohenstaufen and Manfred's sister, who had married the Byzantine emperor of Nicaea, John III Vatatzēs (1222-54).

The Venetians observed the situation carefully: relations with the Kingdom of Aragon had been especially good since they had weakened their alliance with the Angevins. Relations were also good with Byzantium and a truce had been reached with Genoa. There therefore seems to have been a carefully planned and to some extent realistic motive, if the appropriate connection is considered. Once Costanza became a widow, she became part of the Court of Aragon, to which she left her worldly goods.

The reference to this motive, however, evidently implies a royal order and consent on the part of the King of Aragon. This is confirmed in a letter written by the king himself to the admiral. Not long after the episode, he in fact demanded a share of the spoils. The Byzantine emperor had partly compensated for the damage suffered by seizing the belongings of Catalan nationals living in his kingdom, while James of Sicily was required to reimburse the harmed parties. The king was, in fact, in very great need of money. The state of war required expenditure as well as aid. Roger of Lauria was one of the powerful men in the Kingdom of Aragon, and willingly put his ships at the king's disposal and headed the royal fleet. He lent money to the monarch and in return received enormous benefits — not least the attractive booty from such operations. This was normal practice for admirals of the era and it is therefore not surprising that this Calabrian was to be found serving as admiral of the Aragonese royal fleet in 1285. From this time, he worked not only in the service of Sicily but also for that kingdom. However, Sanudo's work only cites the damage the admiral caused to the Byzantine Empire.

Muntaner, the Catalan chronicler, also describes the same event, although with a different slant. He brought the action forward by a few years in order to insert it into the wider context of a series of operations

udito da messere Ruzero del Oria stesso, ch'egli quando andò in Romania, andò per correre e danneggiare il paese dell'imperatore, perché il detto Imperator aveva promesso dar al re d'Aragona ogn'anno 60 mila lipperi insino a guerra finita, e perché anco il detto re d'Aragona pretendeva aver dal detto Imperatore 60 mila onze d'oro per una certa madonna del regno di Sicilia, ch'era stata maritata all'Imperatore, che allora regnava, ch'era parente del re Manfredi. . . .

carried out in the Mediterranean by the admiral, acting on the orders, so he claims, of the king himself.⁴

His account goes more deeply into the economic and military policy of James II, who basically continued and reinforced that of his predecessors. When he reigned over Sicily the island already thronged with Catalans. This greatly displeased the Genoese, even though a treaty signed in 1290 (and ratified in 1292 by James's brother, Frederick) confirmed the traditional friendship and trading privileges accorded to them. In 1290 the Byzantine emperor Andronikos II himself had also welcomed the Catalan merchants to his empire, not fearing the Aragonese, who were at war with the Angevins, and certainly not foreseeing the success of Aragonese diplomacy.

Other documentary sources also exist. There are four surviving versions of the *Chronique de Morée*. The lively French and Aragonese versions tell a slightly imaginative story of chivalry which also includes details worthy of an eye-witness account.⁵ However, the account is once again related by parties involved directly in the events. There are also additional details which throw interesting light on the Franks, the enemy of the Aragonese.

With his 20 galleys and 10 'taride', the admiral passed Clarence (Glarenca, Kyllēnē) without suffering damage and attacked the islands of the archipelago: Lesbos, Lemnos, Santorini, Thassos, Andros, Mykonos, and Chios were sacked. The entire mastic crop of Chios was plundered and the bishop of Monemvasia was taken prisoner. The admiral then attacked Maina, where he hoisted the flag of San Marco to mislead and capture those who had come to offer merchandise, together with other citizens whom he later sold as slaves in Sicily.

On the return journey, once he had left Modon and arrived at Port de Jonc (Zonklon), he wished to take on water supplies and unload the horses, but the castle governor of Kalamata, Giorgio Ghisi, lord of Chalandritsa, feared a coup and gathered his knights and men-at-arms. Conflict was inevitable. Roger of Lauria set out against Jean de Durnay, the powerful and well-armed knight who was leading the charge. Roger was unhorsed and his men fell upon de Durnay's horse and killed it.

4. R. Muntaner, *Cronica catalana*, ed. A. de Bofarull (Barcelona, 1869), Chs. CXVII, CXXXIX.

5. *Libros de los fechos et conquistas del Principado de la Morea*, ed. A. Morel Fatio (Geneva, 1885), paras. 487-505; *La chronique de Morée: Livre de la conquête de la princée de l'Amorée* (Paris, 1911), paras. 756-89; E. Longnon, *L'empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée* (Paris, 1949), pp. 264-71.

The valiant knight defended himself ferociously with his sword but would also have lost his life had it not been for the admiral, who picked himself up and invited de Durnay to surrender. According to the narrator, this was because the admiral did not wish such a man to be killed. Roger then called for one of his horses and led de Durnay to his own red galley, where he surrendered his arms and was covered with a scarlet mantle. The admiral asked the knight to sit with him at the stern and offered him sweetmeats and drink, telling him that he was the most valiant knight he had ever encountered. On learning that he was the son of the renowned Geoffroy de Durnay, who had fought bravely in the Sicilian wars, the admiral expressed his regret that the knight was married, for otherwise he would have offered him his own daughter's hand. He then asked his captive how he wished to be liberated. Jean de Durnay asked to be taken to the port of Clarence, where he would be able to pay his own ransom and that of his companions. Roger of Lauria replied:

Your people tell me that you are poor. But his lordship Giorgio Ghisi is much richer than you, since his father has so much money. I order him to give me 10,000 *perperi*, not a penny less. Out of these 10,000 *perperi* I shall give you 2,000 so that you can have a suit of armour made bearing my coat-of-arms in my remembrance. And you shall give me 2,000 *perperi*, so that I can buy a suit of armour bearing your coat-of-arms in remembrance of you. Furthermore, I shall ask no ransom for Othon de Durnay, your brother, and others of your kin who have been captured. All of these shall be released as a token of the love I bear for you.

Meanwhile, the news had spread to the Morea, and the princess of Achaia, Isabelle of Villehardouin, whose husband was at that time in Italy, ordered preparation for the defence of Clarence, where she was staying. She then sent the admiral of the Morea to ask Roger of Lauria for a meeting. When Roger entered the port in great pomp and made contact with the knights sent to meet him, the princess was accompanied on horseback by all of her barons to a tower near the sea. Some 'biaux tapiz courçois' were laid in the shade of the tower and the two sat down to talk. After the ransom had been paid, the admiral sent for Jean de Durnay and presented him to the princess as one of the most valiant knights in the world. He then gave him his best bay horse and a suit of armour. The princess ordered the admiral's ships to be supplied with water and gave him a gift of jewels.

Possibly, in the light of subsequent policy, the chronicle indicates that Roger of Lauria's real object were the Byzantines, although there

had been an attack on Catalan ships in the Morea in 1291 and a state of war did actually exist.

Gerolamo Zurita's *Anales aragonenses* also mention the event.⁶ They only explicitly tell of the conquest and sacking of Monemvasia and Chios where, interestingly, the admiral is said to have plundered the merchant ships. There is also mention of the damage caused on the coasts of the Morea and the ransom paid in Clarence.

The most complete information was without doubt supplied by the Sicilian chroniclers, who lived on the island which was at the heart of contemporary problems and which was the centre of the interests and political and economic issues of the leading figures in the western region.

Both Bartolomeo da Neocastro and Niccolò Speciale give a detailed account of the event, particularly the former, who concentrated on two specific episodes: 'De captione Malvasiae' and 'De praeda insule Chii'.⁷ The first episode gives a variety of details in a style reminiscent of the great Latin writers. The attack on Monemvasia ('sed proprie dici debet Manovadia idest "solum vadum"') and the location itself are described. The chronicler tells of Franks who were waiting there for reinforcements to come from Puglia ('In civitate illa se receptaverunt Gallici hostes insidias in Siciliam machinantes'). The whole account is very precise: 'On 15 June the admiral deployed his ships and sailed along the coast before the eyes of the inhabitants. He then made a proud speech: "Be of good spirit, companions, and take courage, because we shall take Monemvasia tonight. All citizens shall be spared, except any Franks we find."' Then two messengers from the city came bearing words of friendship, provisions, and the offer of all that they required or wished for ('oves, boves et universa pecora'). Entertainment would also be provided if the sailors wished to leave their ships and seek amusement. But the admiral was wary of the blandishments of 'Greeks bearing gifts' and replied: 'Cives vestri male agunt quod recipientes Gallicos hostes in perdendos Siculos regis potentis Aragonum atque Siciliae scienter se faciunt inimicos'. When night fell the assault and pillage began. The account concerning

6. G. Zurita, *Anales Aragonenses* (Barcelona, 1852), Vol. I, p. 252.

7. Bartolomeo Neocastro, *Historia Sicula*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed. L.A. Muratori (Milan, 1727), Vol. XIII, cols. 121-4; Niccolò Speciale, *Historia Sicula*, in *ibid.*, Vol. X, cols. 959-60.

Chios is shorter and less intense. However, here too '*maxima quantitas masticis ad opus Imperatoris Paleologi recollecta*' was taken as the Greeks fled to the woods. When returning to Messina in October, Roger of Lauria took with him the archbishop of Monemvasia, for whom he obtained a large ransom.

The Sicilian chroniclers seem to have been the best observers, and not only as far as this episode is concerned. As soon as the beloved King James of Sicily came to the throne of Aragon, he began to perpetrate what the Sicilians were to define as 'betrayal'. In order to avoid excommunication and isolation and to definitively prevent Angevin ascendancy in the Mediterranean, he continued the war while at the same time following the course of diplomacy.

This policy proved to be fruitful, in that it marked the ascendancy of his own influence in the Mediterranean instead of that of the Franco-Angevin dynasty. It also created a substantial obstacle for the Genoese. And this, as indicated above, would lead to the isolation of Sicily.

The negotiations with the Angevins, which had already begun under Alfonso III and continued with intensity in the period 1291-92, need not be described in detail here. They began with the treaty of Brignoles Tarascon in February 1291 (which first mooted the eventual renunciation of Sicily), and although this was unexpected it was an unequivocal sign of the continuation of James II's plan, which would lead to his marriage to Blanche d'Anjou.

The short period of time between 1292 and 1293 saw a series of frenetic diplomatic visits to Genoa by Angevin and Aragonese ambassadors, aimed at persuading the city to abandon neutrality with promises concerning Sicily, among other aspects. It is interesting to note how Genoese ideas gradually changed not only in relation to internal policy, but due also to the diplomatic manoeuvres and the increasing tension between the city and the Crown of Aragon resulting from its movements in the Mediterranean area.

Although the Sicilians associated the incursions with the 'Franks', they also recognized the Byzantine target underlying the Aragonese action. From all of this, it becomes clear that the two real protagonists of events were the Kingdom of Aragon and the Byzantine Empire — namely James II and Andronikos II.

At this point, something must be said of the policy of Andronikos II. He favoured the Genoese, who were present in the entire area and whose ships were also active militarily, but he also gave generous concessions to the Venetians and Catalans. However, what should really be underlined here is his matrimonial policy, especially regarding his son Michael (the future Emperor Michael IX), whose marriage to

Catherine of Courtenay, heiress to the throne of Constantinople, he was trying to arrange.⁸

Like James, Andronikos was a great arranger of marriages. When his first wife died, he had hoped to marry an Aragonese, but James was wise enough to realize that the marriage of an excommunicate to an Orthodox Church member would not bring him any benefit and rejected such an aspiration. Andronicus acquired his second wife, Irene di Monferrato (who brought him Thessalonica as a dowry), through the king of Castile. However, the failure of the desired marriage with an Aragonese was a clear sign of the deterioration of relations. The importance of the planned marriage between Michael and Catherine de Courtenay should not be underestimated in this context. Marriage to Catherine was an enticing prospect and there were many attempts to win her hand.

In the light of such facts, it would be as well to reconsider a situation with many key figures, two of whom (James and Andronikos) were interested in improving and possibly definitively restoring full relations with the Church of Rome, which does not seem to have turned a deaf ear to either party. The House of Anjou was also interested in negotiations, given the long and extenuating war with the Aragonese dynasty. They kept their allies happy with promises, tried to wear down Genoese neutrality, and openly negotiated with the Crown of Aragon.

The area of interest to the Genoese (who had so far been the real support of the Byzantine emperor) was the Black Sea and the area around Greece. Their ships travelled extensively in that area, including the Frankish and Byzantine ports of call. Nor must Sicily be forgotten, for it was here that the Genoese obtained grain supplies and this was an important stage on their trading route. However, they frequently complained of the problems caused by Byzantine bureaucrats and of the acts of piracy committed against them by Monemvasian ships, among others.

The truce with Venice was also becoming unstable. After the fall of Acre and the Venetian establishment of relations with the Tartar Khan Nogai on the Black Sea, both the Genoese and the Venetians became more sensitive to change — as did the Sicilians, though for other reasons. Despite the accounts of the Catalan and Frankish chronicles, all three powers detected deteriorating relations between the Crown of Aragon and Byzantium.

Thus, the episode involving Roger of Lauria can be understood as constituting both an action and a reaction if it is seen as part of the

8. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, pp. 48-54.

operative framework of James II's policy. His Catalans were present extensively throughout Sicily and the Byzantine Empire. In order to thwart Angevin ambitions or favour his own Mediterranean policy, he even made plans for a possible crusade (which came to nothing) with the Church. Neither did he hesitate (immediately before the Lauria affair) to stipulate treaties with Egypt and Tunis or to renew the treaty with Genoa. This was also the period during which negotiations with the House of Anjou, leading to the marriage in 1293, were in a critical phase. In the same year, furthermore, the prince regent of Sicily, Frederick, announced his aspirations to the throne of Byzantium.

However, the acts of war continued and Roger of Lauria was an outstanding figure in this field, acting mainly on royal orders. The Angevins themselves did not set aside their eastern policy. Between 1291 and 1292, Epiros was attacked by the Byzantines with the support of Genoese ships and defended by Florent d'Hainaut, prince of the Morea. The peace of Clarence in 1291 brought to an end the state of Franco-Byzantine tension in the Peloponnese and its importance should not be undervalued.

Further attention should also be given to another element, often considered on its own account but never in relation to this specific episode. From 1288 (and with particular intensity during the period under examination here), the question of the marriage of Catherine of Courtenay, regarded in the West as the titular empress of Constantinople, to Michael IX, the emperor's son and successor, was being debated. The House of Aragon also had aspirations, but on the other hand there were careful sponsors, such as Mary of Hungary. The Church itself took an active though prudent interest in the matter, since there might be a return of orthodoxy and a crusade. The French monarchy was also involved in ambassadorial visits and the exchange of letters. This may be one of the reasons, if not the specific reason, for the visible decline in Aragonese-Byzantine relations after the episode of the Sicilian Vespers — the Byzantines would subsequently carry the burden.

It does not therefore seem possible to interpret Roger of Lauria's action as a mere act of plunder. He was certainly no stranger to actions of this kind: they formed part of a seafarer's life in those days and were rewarded with the bestowal of titles, lands, and money, although these were actually not sufficient to pay for his ships, men, and acts of war. Other famous admirals of the time took part in similar adventures (for example, the celebrated Benedetto Zaccaria).⁹ Less obvious is the fact

9. R.S. Lopez, *Genova marinara nel Duecento: Benedetto Zaccaria, ammiraglio e mercante* (Messina – Milan, 1933).

that Roger of Lauria was the official representative of the Crown of Aragon, which was facing a combination of internal problems and those relating to Mediterranean policy at the time.¹⁰

Roger of Lauria was a renowned figure, and seems to have frightened even the tough Genoese. It must also be remembered that he married the daughter of Berengari d'Entença, who would later prove to be a thorn in the side of the Byzantines. The power he acquired and the rewards he accrued in Aragon and in Sicily, together with the manorial property of Gerba and Kerkene, meant that he influenced the Crown with which he had such close relations, although he later changed sides in a manner worthy of his proudly decisive character and espoused the Angevin cause.

That, however, is another story. What has been shown here is that he dealt a severe blow to relations between the Byzantine Empire and the Crown of Aragon. It is for that reason that this particular episode is prominent among the many violent episodes which mark Mediterranean history.

10. See F. Giunta, *Aragonesi e catalani nel Mediterraneo*, Vol. II: *La presenza catalana nel Levante dalle origini a Giacomo II* (Palermo, 1972), pp. 57-90.

The Urban Landscape of Rhodes as Perceived by Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Travellers

Michel Balard

‘We roamed freely in the city, so as to comfort our battered bodies and souls with good things.’¹ It is in these terms that canon Pietro Casola, on 20 September 1494, expresses his pleasure at the restorative stop in Rhodes, on the way back from his pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The island of the Hospitallers was, in effect, a favourite stopping place on the pilgrimage route: between Crete and Cyprus it allowed the exhausted voyagers, suffering from the difficult conditions on board ship, to regain their strength, to take advantage of the air which they all deemed excellent, to make fruitful contacts with the Knights, and to make their devotions at some of the island’s churches which were rich in relics.

Actually, it is this last preoccupation that seems to be of vital importance to many of the voyagers, at least for the oldest among them. Their perception of the island had, in fact, greatly evolved since the first reports of the fourteenth century, which had been dry and devoid of any descriptive character, becoming fully detailed descriptions at the end of the fifteenth century, when the travellers’ curiosity reaches out to every sphere: the churches and their wealth, and also the urban framework of Rhodes, the life of the Knights, the Ottoman threats, and the accounts of the 1480 siege, the election of the Grand Master, and the work of fortification. The impersonal approach of the first accounts gradually gives way to a concern for the picturesque and for the things to be seen during the stopover. The pilgrim’s guide thus becomes a

This article was translated by Annette Dulzin.

1. M. Newett (ed.), *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage in Jerusalem in the Year 1494* (Manchester, 1907), p. 306.

tourist's guide.² The value of these accounts, which complement archaeological reports,³ becomes clear in a study of the urban landscape of Rhodes towards the end of the Middle Ages. The voyagers become aware of the strength of this citadel of Christianity, its forward position facing the Ottoman world, the quality of its harbour site, and the division of the city into three concentric blocs, beyond the ramparts of which lay irrigated gardens and suburban sanctuaries.

Global views, however, are rare. Descriptions of urban landscape are often limited to conventional phrases which could apply to any port city discovered by the pilgrim on his itinerary to the East. 'A very beautiful town on the seacoast', says the German guide in the middle of the fourteenth century.⁴ Pero Tafur does not say much more about it in 1437, pointing out that 'the city of Rhodes is flat, but fortified by a moat and a wall',⁵ while 40 years later Paul Walther de Guglingen merely writes that Rhodes is not very big, but has a great castle.⁶ Only Pietro Casola, in 1494, has the idea of taking an over-all view of the city, by climbing up a hill. His disappointment is great: 'There is no order', he writes, 'neither in the palaces, nor in the layout of the walls. The city cannot be described as long, square, or triangular.'⁷ In short, rare are those who evince any interest for the general picture of the Rhodian urban landscape.

On the other hand, the fortifications impress all the travellers. 'Whoever has not seen Rhodes . . . has never seen a fortress', writes

2. J. Richard, *Les récits de voyage et de pèlerinage*, Typologie des sources du Moyen Age occidental, fasc. No. 38 (Turnhout, 1981); *Les récits de voyage*, Publications du Centre d'Etude et de Recherche d'Histoire des Idées et de la Sensibilité (Paris, 1986). The main texts concerning Rhodes have been collected and commented on by F.-C. Plaisant, *L'Image de Rhodes dans les récits de voyage, XIV^e-XV^e siècles*, mémoire de maîtrise, Université Paris 1, 1994.
3. A. Gabriel, *La cité de Rhodes (1310-1522)*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1921-23); J.-C. Poutiers, *Rhodes et ses chevaliers, 1306-1523. Approche historique et archéologique* (Beirut, 1989). See also the studies by A. Luttrell, published in three volumes by Variorum Reprints: *The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece and the West, 1291-1440* (London, 1978); *Latin Greece, the Hospitallers and the Crusades, 1291-1440* (London, 1982); *The Hospitallers of Rhodes and their Mediterranean World* (London, 1992).
4. L. Conrady, *Vier Rheinischen Palaestina Pilgerschriften des XIVten, XVten und XVIten Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden, 1882), p. 46.
5. M. Letts (ed.), *Pero Tafur, Travels and Adventures* (London, 1926), p. 51.
6. M. Soliweck (ed.), *Fratris Pauli Waltherii Gugligensis itinerarium in Terra Sancta et ad Sanctan Catharinam*, Bibliothek des Literatischen Vereins, Vol. 192 (Stuttgart, 1892), p. 86.
7. Newett (ed.), *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage*, p. 206.

Obadiah of Bertinoro at the end of the fifteenth century.⁸ He thus sums up the detailed descriptions of the defence system that converts the city into an almost impregnable bastion of Christianity. The Genoese Anselmo Adorno, who arrived in Rhodes in 1470, describes 'the city [as] solidly fortified thanks to its mighty walls, in which great towers are interposed . . . On the very thick walls there is always a provision of stones and other arms ready to be thrown at enemies.'⁹ He goes on to describe the towers which protect the port and concludes that 'the defences of this port are very strong and the city is impregnable on this side.'¹⁰

None the less, ten years later the Turks almost conquered it. Hence Pierre d'Aubusson, the Grand Master, had the city's defences reinforced, so that it might offer better resistance against the Ottoman artillery. End-of-the-century voyagers testify to the efforts deployed. 'Monseigneur the Grand Master has had great repair work carried out, due to the Turks and the infidels who are near', notes Philippe de Voisins in 1490.¹¹ 'Rhodes is a highly fortified city and it is becoming ever stronger, because it is fortified every day', writes Dietrich von Schachten the following year, adding that the work is carried out thanks to a servile work force, made up of Turkish and pagan prisoners.¹² Pietro Casola has the same impression in 1494: 'The city is highly fortified and is being constantly reinforced. There is continuous work on the walls, especially on the side of the sea, on a tower called St Nicholas'.¹³ The reinforcement of the walls lasted many years and was not entirely complete when the Ottoman armies returned in 1522. In spite of everything, the general impression remains: Rhodes, stoutly protected by its ramparts, is truly a stronghold, to the extent that Felix Faber likens its might to 'the effort of Titans or the playing of Orpheus'.¹⁴

8. A. Neubauer (ed.), 'Zwei Briefe Obadjah's aus Bertinoro aus den Jahren 5248 und 5249 und ein anonymer Reisebrief aus den Jahre 1495', *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte der Juden und des Judenthums*, Vol. 3 (Leipzig, 1863), p. 40.

9. J. Heers and G. de Groer, *Itinéraire en Terre Sainte d'Anselme Adorno* (Paris, 1978), pp. 361-3.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 363.

11. Tamisey de Larroque (ed.), *Voyage à Jérusalem de Philippe de Voisin* (Paris, 1883), p. 24.

12. R. Röhrich and H. Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem Heiligen Lande* (Berlin, 1880), p. 182.

13. Newett (ed.), *Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage*, p. 205.

14. C.-D. Hassler, *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti Peregrinationem*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 1843), Vol. III, p. 255.

The texts do not give details of the fortifications. Only Anselmo Adorno and Dietrich von Schachten are interested in the different towers in the walls and they name them : the Duke of Burgundy tower, the St Nicholas tower, pivot for the port's defence, the de Naillac tower, and the Moulins tower. Some travellers, such as the anonymous one from Donaueschingen, the anonymous German of 1444, or, five years later, Stefan de Gumpenberg, mention the dual role of the port towers: defence works in time of war, they become peaceful mills once the danger is over.¹⁵

These windmills provide the first image of Rhodes that strikes the voyagers. Three are located on the St Nicholas pier, while the other wharf has 12 or 13, depending on the texts. Anselmo Adorno notes that they have 'a subfoundation of stone and six wings or sails'.¹⁶ Nicolas de Martoni and Pietro Casola, who went to see them, describe the working of 'these beautiful machines which grind and turn in the wind'.¹⁷ The city and its environs hold still other windmills, about which Felix Faber and Arnold von Harff tell a legend: they were purported to have been built by the Genoese, during an unfortunate expedition, in order to gain a foothold on Rhodes in 1248.¹⁸ The two travellers echo the parallel drawn in the East between 'giants' and 'Genoese'; tradition ascribes the colossal works to the latter, but contemporaries do not identify the architects.¹⁹

The voyagers are more interested in the towers, the mills, and the walls than in the port itself, even though it offers the first sight of the island. Nicolas de Martoni, as we have seen, deems the port to be quite attractive and confines himself to giving the distance, half a mile, which separates the mole of the port from the windmill pier.²⁰ For

15. Röhricht and Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen*, p. 100; A. Birlinger, 'Ein Pilgerbuchlein, Reise nach Jerusalem von 1444', in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprache und Literaturen*, 40 (1867), p. 302; S. Feyerabend, 'Beschreibung des Wallfahrt zum heiligen Grab Herrn Steffan von Gumpenberg und Anderen', in *Reisebuch des Heiligen Lande* (Frankfurt-on-Main, 1584), fol. 237.

16. Heers and de Groer, *Itinéraire en Terre Sainte*, p. 363.

17. L. Legrand, 'Pèlerinage à Jérusalem de Nicolas de Martoni, notaire italien', *Revue de l'Orient latin*, 3 (1895), 583; Newett (ed.), *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage*, pp. 207-8.

18. Hassler, *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae*, Vol. 3, p. 255; M. Letts, *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff in the years 1496 to 1499* (London, 1946), p. 88.

19. G. Pistarino, *I Gin dell'Oltremare* (Genoa, 1988).

20. Legrand, 'Pèlerinage à Jérusalem', 585-6.

Pietro Casola, 'the port of Rhodes seemed to be the largest and the best fortified between Venice and Jaffa. One can enter it safely since it is very deep.'²¹ Dietrich von Schachten assimilates port (*port*) with gate (*porte*) when he writes: 'Rhodes has a pretty gate through which one can enter with all the ships, big and small, and this gate is well guarded.'²² The best description is still that of Anselmo Adorno, perceptive observer of marine topics: 'The city is situated on the sea coast and has a secure port that can be locked at will by means of an iron chain. There are two mighty towers nearby which face each other and defend the port against enemy incursions. It is to these towers that the ends of the chains which close the port are attached or sealed.' And the Genoese adds an exact description of the various towers that defend the entrance.²³

Several elements regarding port activity are ignored. There is no text dealing with the commercial activity of Rhodes. It is, however, far from negligible: without being one of the great *emporía* usually frequented by the Genoese and the Venetians, the island of the Knights received part of the Italian traffic in the eastern Mediterranean. Florentines, Ragusans, Provençals, and Catalans are active there because oriental products are available, enabling them to bypass Venetian or Genoese intermediaries.

The arsenal is scarcely touched upon in Jehan de Cucharmoy's account; in 1490 the galley that he takes is repaired in Rhodes.²⁴ The 'artisan mechanics' cited by the anonymous Englishman of 1345 and by Anselmo Adorno, who mentions that they are stationed within the shelter of the outside walls, are perhaps arsenal workers. Finally, the Marine Gate, which is for us the most significant monument of the time of the Hospitallers, built at the end of the fifteenth century in the style of the principal gate of Villeneuve-lès-Avignon,²⁵ was not remarked upon by the travellers. Does this mean that for them the gate ('porte') of Rhodes can only be the port, linking the city to the outside world,

21. Newett (ed.), *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage*, p. 207.

22. Röhrich and Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen*, p. 184.

23. Heers and de Groer, *Itinéraire en Terre Sainte*, p. 363. Regarding the port of Rhodes, see M. Balard, 'Città portuali e fondaci genovesi nel mar Egeo (secc. XII-XV)', in E. Polegi, *Le Città portuali del Mediterraneo, Storia e archeologica* (Genoa, 1989), pp. 75-84.

24. *Le Saint Voyage de Hiérusalem ou Petit Traicté du Voyage de Hiérusalem, de Rome et de Saint Nicolas de Bar en Pouille de Jehan de Cucharmoy, natif de Lyon*, Société de l'Orient Latin, n.d., fol. XI.

25. Gabriel, *La cité de Rhodes*, Vol. I, p. 137.

while the Marine Gate has only a banal fiscal function — to allow the collection of taxes on the off-loaded merchandise?

On the other hand, the urban layout of Rhodes did not go completely unnoticed by the voyagers. Nicolas de Martoni notes the division of the city into two parts separated by high walls: the castle and the Church of St John on one side, the small market town on the other.²⁶ In 1437 Pero Tafur names the separate quarter where the Knights live *Collachium*, but he does not mention the palace of the Grand Master.²⁷ Boundelmonti overestimates the divisions of the city by making the Hospital an autonomous quarter: 'The present city . . . looks toward the Levant and is divided into four quarters: the first is occupied by the Grand Master of St John's Hospital, the second by the brothers of this order, the third by the Knights' Hospital, the building in which they used to meet, the fourth and last being inhabited by merchants and by Greeks.'²⁸ Anselmo Adorno is the only one to have correctly defined the city structure: 'The city has on the right, on top of a little hill, a large castle, beautiful and strong, surrounded by three enclosures which are quite far apart from one another. One judges it to be, therefore, not only a castle, but a triple fortress. Within the shelter of the outside enclosure, which is the largest, artisan mechanics are installed. Within the second enclosure live the religious brothers, and within the third, the Grand Master of Rhodes with his knights and all the retinue.'²⁹

Three walls divide the city into three well-defined zones: the town (*burgus*), the *Collachium*, and the Grand Master's palace. The political significance is clear: the Knights and their Head isolate themselves from the native population, more for the sake of establishing a hierarchy of command than in real opposition to their subjects. Perhaps one should add their desire to place themselves beyond worldly matters, to live their lives according to the rules of the Order. The *burgus* does not seem to have elicited great interest on the part of the voyagers. Nicolas de Martoni, virtually the only one, gives an exact description of it: the *burgus*, enclosed by high walls, is next to the seashore; there the majority of the population is concentrated, the street stalls, the grocers, and other merchants.³⁰ But, generally speaking, the

26. Legrand, 'Pèlerinage à Jérusalem', 583.

27. Letts (ed.), *Pero Tafur, Travels and Adventures*, p. 51.

28. Cristoforo Buondelmonti, *Description des îles de l'Archipel*, ed. L. Legrand (Paris, 1897), p. 183.

29. Heers and de Groer, *Itinéraire en Terre Sainte*, p. 363.

30. Legrand, 'Pèlerinage à Jérusalem', 583.

pilgrims pay little attention to the people on the street and the sights this offers. Anselmo Adorno does note, however, that 'the streets of the city are wide, the houses low, generally in marble, with windows in columns. These houses have, like the Moors, flat covers made of sand, that is to say, of lime.'³¹ The lower town is of little interest to the voyagers. George Lengherand sums up the general impression: 'From the inside it does not show itself to be a very beautiful town.'³²

The *Collachium* elicits more comments. Undoubtedly deriving its name from the Latin verb *colligere* to designate the meeting place of a religious community, the quarter covers almost exactly the area of the ancient Byzantine city, adjacent on the west and north to the suburban gardens, on the east to the port, and on the south to the *burgus*, from which it is separated by a rather narrow wall in which there are three gates, two towards the port and the third towards the *burgus* itself. On this side the wall is of little military use. Rather it isolates the Knights from their subjects and makes the Hospitallers' residence a closed quarter, hermetically sealed from the world during the election of a Grand Master, as recounted by Pero Tafur, who found himself locked up together with his host during voting time.³³ The *Collachium* is really the private domain of the Order, all the Knights must reside in this place, from which they can go out only if accompanied, and with the authorization of their superior.³⁴

Even though some of the pilgrims were guests of the Knights, very few describe the residence. In 1493 Jean de Lobkowitz is struck by the Grande Rue which crosses the *Collachium* and leads to the castle: 'On both sides, next to the houses, this street is paved with large cut stones, and in the middle it is paved with small stones.'³⁵ His wonder is scarcely shared. In 1494 Canon Pietro Casola, after having visited the palace of the Grand Master, adds: 'I have seen no palace worthy of notice. There are some beautiful façades, such as the one on the way to the Grand Master's palace, but there is nothing very luxurious within.'³⁶ The inns where the pilgrims meet in national groups are

31. Heers and de Groer, *Itinéraire en Terre Sainte*, p. 367.

32. G. Menilglaise, *Voyage de G. Lengherand, mayeur de Mons en Hainaut, à Venise, Rome, Jérusalem, le mont Sinai et Le Kayre* (Mons, 1861), p. 103.

33. Letts (ed.), *Pero Tafur, Travels and Adventures*, pp. 107-8.

34. Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, *La Route de Samarkand au temps de Tamerlan*, ed. L. Kehren (Paris, 1990), p. 99.

35. A. Bonnici, 'What a Pilgrim Saw at Rhodes', *Annales de l'Ordre Souverain Militaire de Malte*, Oct.-Dec. 1968, p. 103.

36. Newett (ed.), *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage*, p. 206.

barely distinguishable from the other houses. Only Pero Tafur, in 1437, noticed their distinctiveness: 'Amid the houses of the Knights, there are inns where strangers eat and meet, each nation separated from the other, and a knight is in charge of each of these inns, where he sees to it that everything necessary is provided for the occupants, in accordance with their religion.'³⁷

However, all the voyagers heap endless praise on the hospital, the highlight of the visitors' itinerary, and the justification for the never forgotten Hospitaller vocation of the Order. Whether it be the old hospital, functioning until about 1480, or the new one, built at the time of the Grand Master Jean de Lastic, the texts pay little attention to the building's architecture: a two-story cloister for Nicolas le Huen in 1487, elegant windows for Jean de Lobkowitz in 1493, is all that we are told by our travellers regarding the outside appearance of the building.³⁸ The decor attracts more attention: great halls sumptuously decorated,³⁹ many tapestries, in short 'one of the most beautiful houses of charity that I have ever seen', writes Pero Tafur in 1437.⁴⁰ What can one say then about the new hospital at the end of the fifteenth century? For Dietrich von Schachten, 'it was built in an impressive and lavish fashion and also well decorated',⁴¹ while Canon Pietro Casola adds: 'From the outside the hospital is beautiful, and where the infirmary is, there is a great display of tapestries, great halls, and other arrangements'.⁴² The texts are more informative regarding the running of the hospital, described in minute detail by Nicolas de Martoni, Pero Tafur, and Dietrich von Schachten, who recall the medical care as well as the alms distributed to the poor.⁴³ There is no doubt that the voyagers were particularly attentive during the visit which was programmed for them. The Knights wished to show their charitable activity, which was in accordance with their original vocation, to advantage; their guests'

37. Letts (ed.), *Pero Tafur, Travels and Adventures*, p. 52.

38. Nicole le Huen, *Des saintes pèrègrinations de Jérusalem et des Lieux Prochains* (Lyon, 1488), fol. 52; Bonnicci, 'What a Pilgrim Saw at Rhodes', p. 103.

39. 'In dicto castro est quondam magnum hospitium cum multis et magnis salis et cameris in quibus manent frerii, inter quas sunt sale et camere pulcris et variis laboribus', writes Nicolas de Martoni, see Legrand, 'Pèlerinage à Jérusalem', 584.

40. Letts (ed.), *Pero Tafur, Travels and Adventures*, pp. 51-2.

41. Röhrich and Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen*, p. 185.

42. Newett (ed.), *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage*, p. 207.

43. See Gabriel, *La cité de Rhodes*, Vol. II, pp. 35-6.

writings contributed to making their works known throughout Christianity, eliciting donations from the faithful in return.

About the Church of St John of the Hospitallers there is little to be gleaned from our texts, which are more like traditional pilgrimage guides than sources of tourist information. 'Small church, but great place of piety' for Nicolas de Martoni,⁴⁴ it is there that the Knights meet for their church rites and where they hold their councils, adds Pero Tafur,⁴⁵ before giving, with Anselmo Adorno, the list of the innumerable relics offered for the pilgrims' devotions. A church on the pilgrims' road to Jerusalem is not visited for the beauty of its architecture or its sculptured decoration, but for the renown of the relics it holds.

Within the *Collachium*, the last concentric circle is constituted by the palace of the Grand Master, at the north-west corner of the city which it dominates, as did the Hellenic fortress city and the palace of the Byzantine governor which it succeeded. Furthermore, it is the only monument at Rhodes that Bertrandon de la Broquière could have seen in 1432, 'because our galley set out early'.⁴⁶ Is it topographic reality, or is it rather the image of the power of the Order that Pietro Casola conveys when he writes: 'The palace of the Grand Master and the adjacent Church of St John seem to be somewhat higher up, even though the entire area is a plain'.⁴⁷ The symbolism is striking in the analogy Felix Faber develops: 'Above all else, the castle of the Knights of Jerusalem is situated in the upper part of the city, as is Mount Zion, solid like the city and the Ark of David'.⁴⁸ The site of an order originating in Jerusalem can only be on the top of a holy hill similar to Mount Zion. The terrestrial hierarchy and the function of mediation between Heaven and man-kind ordains this.

As for the palace itself, the voyagers' opinions do not always agree. George Lengherand, in 1486, deems it to be well fortified,⁴⁹ while Jean de Lobkowitz maintains the opposite.⁵⁰ Pero Tafur estimates this

44. Legrand, 'Pèlerinage à Jérusalem', 584.

45. Letts (ed.), *Pero Tafur, Travels and Adventures*, p. 52.

46. Ch. Schefer (ed.), *Le voyage d'outremer de Bertrandon de la Broquière* (Paris, 1892), p. 9.

47. Newett (ed.), *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage*, p. 206.

48. Faber, *Evagatorium*, Vol. III, p. 255.

49. Menilglaise (ed.), *Voyage de G. Lengherand*, p. 163.

50. 'Le château de Rhodes n'est pas du tout fortifié du côté de la ville', writes Jean de Lobkowitz; see Bonnicci, 'What a Pilgrim Saw', 104, which implies that it is by the sea shore.

princely palace to be 'an ordinary house, not very opulent',⁵¹ while Nicolas de Martoni extols the apartments of the Grand Master Juan Fernandez de Heredia, 'adorned with very beautiful and very diversified work . . . where the Grand Master of the Order resides when he is at Rhodes'.⁵² More numerous are the pilgrims interested in Pierre d'Aubusson's menagerie, the exotic and fabulous animals that the Grand Master collected in the palace moats. The attraction of the unusual, the wonderful, is stronger than the concern with providing a faithful description and precise identification: here one can readily recognize an intrinsic trait of the sensibility prevalent at the end of the Middle Ages.⁵³

The evocation of the urban landscape could not be complete without a description of the gardens surrounding the city, appreciated by many voyagers. For Nicolas de Martoni there could be no more beautiful gardens in the whole world; they extend for over three or four miles around the city and are irrigated by a fountain which is powered by a windmill; canals distribute the water in the evening to the plots planted with fruit trees, orange, lemon, and others. The houses there can receive people of quality.⁵⁴ The Italian notary leads us to understand that the gardens were owned by the Knights who built suburban villas for themselves, as places of relaxation and for supplies for their table. This is, in fact, as noted by Pero Tafur, for whom 'most of the gardens are at the service of the Grand Master's table'.⁵⁵ Buondelmonti describes the verdant trees, the pleasant landscape that surrounds the city, and presents the Florentines as the creators of a magnificent garden.⁵⁶ As for Anselmo Adorno, he attributes to the Knights' community 'a very large garden where an abundance of lemons, figs, grapes, pomegranates, capers, and other similar fruits grow'.⁵⁷ This fertility and

51. Letts (ed.), *Pero Tafur, Travels and Adventures*, p. 52.

52. Legrand, 'Pèlerinage à Jérusalem', 52.

53. See the records of the Congrès d'Orléans (juin 1994) des Historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public, *Miracles, prodiges et merveilles au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1995).

54. Legrand, 'Pèlerinage à Jérusalem', 583-4. One should recall that in 1458 Roberto de Sanseverino was hosted in the country home of an English Hospitaller, situated in the middle of a garden planted with fruit trees; see G. Maruffi, *Viaggio in terra Santa fatto e descritto per Roberto da Sanseverino* (Bologna, 1888), p. 58.

55. Letts (ed.), *Pero Tafur, Travels and Adventures*, pp. 52-3.

56. Buondelmonti, *Description des îles de l'Archipel*, p. 184.

57. Heers and de Groer, *Itinéraire en Terre Sainte*, p. 367.

this abundance of good things evoke another image, that of the garden of Eden, of paradisiacal delights promised to the faithful servants of God.

In their description of Rhodes' urban landscape, our voyagers pass from the most material detail to biblical images with which their culture is imbued. For them the island of the Knights represents first of all a front-line bastion of Christianity, an impregnable citadel held by dint of great effort on the part of the valiant monk-soldiers against whom no reproach can be levied. The city itself follows a hierarchical organization: below, the subjects of the Order, manufacturers and tradesmen; in the centre the Knights, who form a corps, a community, separated from the world for the service of God, the poor and the sick; at the summit, the Grand Master, isolated in his palace, like Christ amid, but above, his apostles at the top of Mount Zion. Rhodes becomes, in a way, an anticipation of Jerusalem on the road to the East, a first reflection of Paradise that each pilgrim wishes to attain. The remarkable relics in the churches are there to prepare the penitent for the bestowal of divine grace.

But, at the same time, other curious features emerge progressively in our texts: as Canon Pietro Casola naively expressed it,⁵⁸ the stopover at Rhodes is an opportunity to discover a place with a difference, both the strange and the wonderful. The Knights try to make the most of the wonders by organizing visits, by guiding the pilgrims towards the palace menagerie, as well as to the relic treasures. Many of them fall under the spell of their charm and show it in their writings which are devoid of any criticism of the Order.

Under these circumstances our voyagers cannot provide a complete image of the urban landscape. Guides to the pilgrims, they emphasize the Church treasures, but overlook the architectural framework. As tourist guides they are drawn to the unusual, but take refuge in conventional phrases to express the grandeur or the beauty of a monument that attracts their attention. They transmit to their readers a new curiosity for the city, but without becoming completely aware of its layout, its history, or its monumental wealth.

58. See Newett (ed.), *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage*, p. 205: 'I went to see what is known to be deserving of a visit'.

Ethnic Groups, Cross-Social and Cross-Cultural Contacts on Fifteenth-Century Cyprus

Laura Balletto

The Republic of Genoa, with the treaties of 21 October 1374 and 19 February 1383, established real predominance over the island of Cyprus. Genoa imposed on the Cypriot sovereign very harsh conditions which had considerable influence on events in the following years. The island had grown greatly in importance, especially after the fall of the last Christian outposts in the Holy Land, when 'the traditional forces of Western maritime commerce, in order to guarantee for themselves continuity in trading with the Orient, had to find new ports to substitute for those on the Syrian coast, where they had been accustomed to call, and the interest of all the main trading nations of Europe turned towards Cyprus'.¹ The result was that the island had become a true hub of international commerce.²

Famagusta was particularly well situated, although the Genoese, prior to its becoming their exclusive domain, had constituted only one of the many groups of Western Europeans (Anconitans, Catalans, Pisans, Provençals, or Venetians, to cite a few of the more important

This article was translated by Judith Roumani.

1. F. Surdich, 'Su un manoscritto della Berio relativo a Cipro', in *Atti della Giornata di studio sui manoscritti della Biblioteca Berio, Genova, 24 maggio 1969* (Alessandria, n. d.), p. 61; G. Pistarino, *Genovesi d'Oriente* (Genoa, 1990), p. 425.
2. G. Heyd, *Storia del commercio del Levante nel medioevo* (Turin, 1913), p. 379; M. Balard, 'La popolazione di Famagosta all'inizio del XIV secolo', in *La storia dei Genovesi*, Vol. IV (Genoa, 1984), p. 27; id., 'Il paesaggio urbano di Famagosta negli anni 1300', in *La storia dei Genovesi*, Vol. V (Genoa, 1985), p. 277; L. Balletto, 'Genovesi e Piemontesi nella Cipro dei Lusignano nel tardo medioevo', *Rivista di storia arte archeologia per le provincie di Alessandria e Asti*, 3 (1994), 84; id., 'Note sull'isola di Cipro nel secolo XV', in *La storia dei Genovesi*, Vol. XII/1 (Genoa, 1994), p.121.

places of origin) who had obtained concessions from the royal family of Lusignan. After Pietro di Campofragoso's victorious expedition the Genoese had become the dominant group,³ but the city continued to have an obviously cosmopolitan character, as Emanuele Piloti testified in the early fourteenth century⁴ and as one can also see from the documents relating to Cyprus in the State Archives of Genoa from the middle years of the fifteenth century.⁵

During this period the situation of Famagusta changed considerably. Its heyday was over, and what had been one of the most flourishing ports of the Genoese Republic was in a period of decline. On 10 June 1447 Genoa decided to shift the administration of Famagusta to the Office of San Giorgio.⁶ The file containing some of the documents relating to this change is one of the Genoese sources to which we refer.⁷ Together with this we may consider the register concerning the tour of inspection (*sindacamento*) of Pietro de Marco, the Genoese *capitano* and *podestà* of Famagusta in 1447-48,⁸ the important collection of notarial acts, written mainly in Famagusta, but also in Nicosia and Limassol, by the Genoese lawyer Antonio Foglietta between 1445 and 1458, and some registers from the *Massaria* of Famagusta.⁹

3. G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, (Cambridge, 1948), Vol. II; Balard, 'Il paesaggio urbano', pp. 277, 287; id., 'Habitat, ethnies et métiers dans les comptoirs génois d'Orient (XIII^e-XV^e siècles)', in J.-C. Maire Vigueur (ed.), *D'une ville à l'autre: structures matérielles et organisation de l'espace dans les villes européennes (XIII^e-XVI^e siècles)* (Rome, 1989), p.108. On the importance and specificity of Famagusta, see J. Richard, 'La situation juridique de Famagouste dans le royaume des Lusignan', in *Praktika tou protou diethnous Kypriologikou Synedriou* (Nicosia, 1972), Vol. 2, pp. 221-9.
4. *Traité d'Emmanuel Piloti sur le passage en Terre Sainte (1420)*, ed. P.-H. Dopp (Louvain, 1958), p. 125; Balard, 'La popolazione di Famagosta', p. 27.
5. L. Balletto, 'L'isola di Cipro nell'anno della caduta di Constantinopoli', *Anuario de estudios medievales*, 22 (1992), 213; id., 'Note sull'isola di Cipro', pp. 121-2.
6. See Balletto, 'L'isola di Cipro', 205-7, and the bibliography cited in id., 'Note sull'isola di Cipro', n. 2.
7. Archivio di Stato, Genoa (hereafter ASG), sala 34, reg. 590/1277, fols. 2r-17r; pub. in V. Polonio, 'Famagosta genovese a metà del '400: assemblee, armamenti, gride', in *Miscellanea di storia ligure in memoria di Giorgio Falco* (Genoa, 1966), pp. 221-37.
8. The register has been published in S. Fossati Raiteri, *Genova e Cipro: L'inchiesta su Pietro de Marco capitano di Genova in Famagosta (1448-1449)* (Genoa, 1984).
9. The documents of Antonio Foglietta are found, together with other deeds related to Chios drawn up by the same lawyer, in filza 843 of the notarial section of the

As regards the population of Famagusta, it is obvious that our documentation cannot provide an objective picture of the situation, since the people who appear in these documents are mostly from Genoa or Liguria or from the hinterland of the Po Valley (particularly Montferrat and Piedmont), who swelled the ranks of the Genoese overseas diaspora considerably throughout the late Middle Ages.¹⁰ But there are windows which allow us to glimpse, in a qualitative rather than a quantitative manner, at the probable composition of Famagustan society (and of the island of Cyprus in general) in the mid-fifteenth century, and perceive networks of relations of various kinds between people belonging to diverse nationalities.

Let us start with the folder which contains the documents mentioned above referring to the transfer of the administration of the city of Famagusta to the Office of San Giorgio. One of these documents turns out to be exceedingly interesting: it contains the wording for the solemn oath of loyalty (*iuramentum et sacramentum fidelitatis et bone fidei*) to the Protettori delle Compere di San Giorgio del Comune di Genova, dated 1 October 1447, on the part of many *cives lanue, burgenses, habitantes et incolle dicte civitatis Famaguste*, as we read in the document itself. Among those described as *burgenses, stipendiarii et habitatores Famaguste*, besides many from Liguria, there are men originating from the most diverse places. One need only mention the *magister sartor* Pietro de Allamania, Guirardo di Francia, the Catalans Giovanni Martino and Giovanni Cobricos *barberius*, Tommasino and Marco di Siracusa,¹¹ Bartolomeo di Sicilia, Giovanni and Colla di Taranto, Giovanni di Napoli, Giorgio di Andria, Geronimo di Salonicco, Pasqualino di Gibelletto, Assar di Caffa, to mention only a few. The list also specifically includes a number of Genoese 'bianchi' — Perrino and Paulino Bibi, Guglielmo di Acri and Iosifi Soia di Nicosia — and a number of Jews: Assariele Iorni, Abraam Leonino di

State Archives of Genoa. We refer to only a few of the registers of the *Massaria* of Famagusta, found chronologically in the years around the middle of the fifteenth century: ASG, sala 34, reg. 590/1276, 590/1277, 590/1278, 590/1279, 590/1280, 590/1281.

10. Cf., for example, L. Balleto, *Piemontesi del Quattrocento nel Vicino Oriente* (Alessandria, 1993), and the bibliography cited in id., 'Genovesi e Piemontesi', n. 1.

11. The document reads: *Thomaxinus de Saragoza* and *Marchus de Saragoza*. On the identification of *Saragosa/Saragoza* with Siracusa, see L. Balleto, 'Linee di traffico e toponomastica (Siracusa e Saragozza)', *Atti dell'Accademia Ligure di Scienze e Lettere*, 35 (1978), 246-54. A certain *Thomas de Saraguxa*, who is probably the same person as *Thomaxinus de Saragoza*, was serving as a *stipendiarius* in Famagusta in 1456: ASG, sala 34, reg. 590/1280, fol. 9r.

Ancona, Leone e Isacco di Ancona, Salamone di Ancona and his son Samuele, Isac de Ispania, Iosiffi de Portogallo, Davit di Candia, Elia di Candia, Abraham di Caffa . . . who swore their oaths according to their own religion.¹²

We have further information about some of these Jews. Assariele or Azariele Iorni, for example, was already active on Cyprus in 1444. On 1 April 1448 he had a will written for him by the Genoese lawyer Giustiniano Fatinanti, giving the sum of 1,200 'white Famagustan bezants' to Azariele's fellow Jew, Abraham di Ancona, a burgess of Famagusta and son of Angelo. On 13 December of the following year, when the testator was already deceased, the heirs and trustees of Azariele still owed Abraham 1,118 bezants. For a long time Abraham apparently did not manage to gain possession of the amount, for on 19 October 1453 he decided to hand over his rights in the matter to the Genoese Marco Gabriele, a person who was very active in Famagusta during those years.¹³

Salamone di Ancona did not live very long after swearing the oath of loyalty to the Office of San Giorgio. He was already dead when, on 2 December 1448, his son Samuele — together with Leone of Ancona and Isacco di Spagna (who were also included in the list cited above) — filed a complaint against *il capitano* Pietro de Marco.¹⁴ The son Samuele, however, was still in Famagusta on 20 July 1456; his name appears in the list of debtors of the Genoese *civis* Antonio Cigala —

12. ASG, sala 34, reg. 590/1277, fols. 6r-v; pub. in Polonio, 'Famagosta genovese', doc. 4. See also Balletto, 'L'isola di Cipro', 207. Many of these men are mentioned in the registers of the *Massaria* in Famagusta, where they are listed among the *stipendiarii* of the Office of San Giorgio or among the contractors for *gabelle*. See, for instance, ASG, sala 34, reg. 590/1277, fols. 65r, 67v, 71v, 83r, 90v, 94v. (Giovanni di Napoli); reg. 590/1279, fols. 51r (Cola di Taranto), 101v (Azar di Caffa); reg. 590/1280, fols. 3r (Guirardo di Francia), 10r (Giorgio di Andria), 13v and 155r (Azar di Caffa); reg. 590/1281, fol. 59 v. (Giovanni di Taranto). Cola di Taranto had a nephew with him in Famagusta, who on 25 Feb. 1455 he apprenticed to the *faber* Luca Bardo for five years: ASG, filza 843, not. Antonio Foglietta, doc. 83.

13. ASG, sala 34, reg. 590/1276, fols. 4v, 6r, 7v, 97r; filza 843, doc. 53. Foglietta's document contains the information concerning the acts of 1 April 1448 and of 18 Dec. 1449. On Azariele Iorni, who was already in Famagusta in 1439 and was still alive on 27 June 1448, see also D. Jacoby, 'Citoyens, sujets et protégés de Venise et de Gênes en Chypre du XIII^e au XV^e siècle', *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 5 (1977), 172; ASG, sala 34, reg. 590/1277, fols. 81v, 88r, 90r, 97v, 108v, 109v, 110r.

14. Fossati Raiteri, *Genova e Cipro*, doc. 7. Salamone di Ancona was still alive on 12 March 1448: ASG, sala 34, reg. 590/1277, fol. 108v.

another well-known figure encountered in Famagusta at the time — to whom he had pawned a silver *maracia* valued at three ducats.¹⁵ And Ioxif di Candia, on 19 March of the same year, 1456, signed a full-scale employment contract with Andrea Casoli, a burgess of Famagusta and the *balivius cabelarum tinctorie et tamoge* of Famagusta, committing himself to serve Andrea and work for him for the entire time that the latter would be responsible for this impost, namely for two years, and not to leave the island of Cyprus during the entire period.¹⁶

The Jews apparently constituted an important component of the population in Famagusta, where their residential quarter was situated in the south-west part of the city, near the port of Limassol.¹⁷ Genoese documentation from the fifteenth century provides confirmation that the Jews played a role both on the political and on the economic levels, and that they had frequent contacts, though they were sometimes of a conflicting nature, with the Genoese.

Among those who were present at the swearing of the oath of loyalty on 1 October 1447, two Catalans were particularly prominent: this may be further proof that commercial interests overrode tense situations for diverse reasons. One of these tense situations had come about due to Catalan piracy, which had a base of support on the island of Lesbos and seems to have been active in the waters around the island of Cyprus. The Genoese may have thought that this piracy enjoyed the protection or even help of the king of Cyprus. The pirate Virordello (probably the same person as Galcerano *de Guirardellis Cattalanus* or *Viraldellus Cattalanus*), whose name sometimes appears in Genoese documents,¹⁸ brings to mind one incident in particular: the incident led the Genoese to present an official protest to the king of Cyprus against his flouting of the agreements which he had concluded with the Office of San Giorgio.

15. ASG, filza 843, doc. 165. On Samuele di Ancona see also ASG, sala 34, reg. 590/1277, fols. 81v, 108v, 109r, 110r; reg. 590/1281, fol. 6r. On Antonio Cigala see Balletto, 'Note sull'isola di Cipro', pp. 131-2, references to bibliography and documentation in id., 'Uomini di Novi nel Vicino Oriente intorno alla metà del Quattrocento', *Novinostra*, 35 (1995), pp. 22-3, n. 30.

16. ASG, filza 843, doc. 141.

17. B. Arbel, 'The Jews in Cyprus: New Evidence from the Venetian Period', *Jewish Social Studies*, 41 (1979), 26; Balard, 'Il paessaggio urbano', p. 286; id., 'Les formes militaires de la colonisation génoise (XIII^e-XV^e siècles)', in A. Bazzana (ed.), *Castrum 3: Guerre, fortification et habitat dans le monde méditerranéen au Moyen Age* (Rome, 1988), p. 68; Pistarino, *Genovesi d'Oriente*, p. 434.

18. ASG, filza 843, doc. 1; Fossati Raiteri, *Genova e Cipro*, docs. 155, 160. See also Balletto, 'Note sull'isola di Cipro', p. 129.

Two small Catalan vessels (*fuste*), *more piratarum et predonum*, had attacked a Genoese *griparea* which was sailing *ad partes Damiate*. The Genoese authorities in Famagusta manned two vessels and charged them with capturing the others and bringing them in to Famagusta, to teach the Catalans a lesson. The endeavour, which took place in the waters of Paphos, seemed to be succeeding until a galley belonging to the king of Cyprus came to the aid of the Catalan ships, in contravention of the agreements in force *et contra omnem honestatem*. It was for this reason that on 26 October 1452, in an *aula* of the residential house in Nicosia of Baldassarre Lercari, the Genoese consul, the lawyer Antonio Foglietta presented a protest that Antonio de Ingibertis, the captain of Famagusta, and the members of the *Officium Monete* of Famagusta had drawn up through their *procuratore* Cristiano Cattaneo, to the king of Cyprus and his high court. The entire event took place in the presence of the same Genoese consul, many Genoese noblemen and, on the king's side, three *milites*: the *turcopelerius* Pietro de Pelestrina, the royal *auditore* Giovanni de Monte Olif, and the *legumdoctor* Ugo Apodocator. These three flatly denied that events had happened in that way, and affirmed that Catalan ships had never harmed any Genoese craft.¹⁹

We know nothing about any consequences to the affair. But Antonio Foglietta's document allows us to pinpoint two other important components of Cypriot society in the fifteenth century: the Frankish element and the autochthonous element. The Frankish element, especially the aristocratic side, had its distant origins in France, but contacts with the West had become very tenuous.²⁰ The decline of the Cypriot Franks

19. ASG, filza 843, doc. 25. On the de Pelestrina family, see W.H. Rudt de Collenberg, 'Études de prosopographie généalogique des Chypriotes mentionnées dans les Registres du Vatican (1378-1471)', *Meletai kai Ypomnēmata*, 1 (1984), 613; on the Monte Olif family see J. Richard in collaboration with T. Papadoupoulos, *Le livre des remembrances de la secrète du royaume de Chypre (1468-1469)* (Nicosia, 1983), p. 182, and the bibliography cited in Balletto, 'Genovesi e Piemontesi', n. 18.

20. W.H. Rudt de Collenberg, 'Le déclin de la société franque de Chypre entre 1350 et 1450', *Kypriakai Spoudai*, 6 (1982), 72-3, n. 6. On the difficulty of identifying the families belonging to the Cypriot nobility, on the errors made by some scholars, and on the methodology used to obtain positive results on this question, see the important study by B. Arbel, 'The Cypriot Nobility from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century: A New Interpretation', *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 4/1 (1989), 175-97. See also id., 'Greek Magnates in Venetian Cyprus: The Case of the Synglitico Family', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 49 (1995), in press.

is well documented — according to Rudt de Collenberg — by the increasingly frequent requests for papal dispensation for consanguineous marriages, so that by the end of the fourteenth century marriages between first cousins were allowed. In order to deal with the problem, Frankish society had turned first to autochthonous elements made up of families of Greek Cypriot origin or from Syrian or Palestinian lands, and then, from the beginning of the fifteenth century, to Catalans, with the result that a considerable number of families originating from Aragon and southern Italy had established themselves on Cyprus.²¹ The Podocataro family, one member of which is explicitly mentioned in the 26 October 1452 document, is a distinguished example of the autochthonous Greek element. This family became particularly important after the fifteenth century, and some of its members played important roles in the administration of the kingdom.²²

It was indeed Ugo Podocataro, the son of Giovanni, who was very influential around the mid-fifteenth century. In 1432 he had been a student in Padua, where he earned a degree in civil law in October 1439. He made his appearance on the political scene in May 1440, when he accompanied the future queen, Medea of Montferrat, from Venice to Cyprus. Thereafter he became a roving ambassador of the kingdom (of which at a certain time he also became an counsellor), under this hat fulfilling numerous missions to the papal court and various Western political powers. During his journeys he visited Genoa several times, so that his name is not unknown in Genoese sources.²³ In many Cypriot deeds prepared by Antonio Foglietta he sometimes appears in the role of royal *auditor regius* or *regni Cipri buttallarius* or *buttellarius*, or as *procurator, orator et consiliator* of the king.²⁴ He died prior to 11 August 1457, the day when his will, drawn up in Nicosia in 1452, was opened: it is a very interesting document because of the evidence it provides of the family's multiple connections.²⁵

21. Rudt de Collenberg, 'Le déclín,' 72, 74, 78-9, 81.

22. Rudt de Collenberg, 'Études de prosopographie', 650-53; id., 'Les Premiers Podocataro: Recherches basées sur le testament de Hugues (1452)', *Thesaurismata*, 23 (1993), 131. On the Podocataro family see also the bibliography cited in Balletto, 'Genovesi e Piemontesi', n. 18.

23. See, e.g., ASG, filza 790, not. Andrea de Cario, docs. 64, 65, 70; filza 853, not. Lazzaro Raggi, docs. 183, 201, 209.

24. Cf., e.g., ASG, filza 843, docs. 35, 90, 122, 123; doc. 35 is published in Balletto, *Piemontesi del Quattrocento*, pp. 104-7; docs. 122, 123, in Balletto, 'Genovesi e Piemontesi', 125-7.

25. The will, which is preserved in the State Archives of Venice, has recently been published and studied: Rudt de Collenberg, 'Les premiers Podocataro', 130-82.

There was clear separation between the residential areas of the various ethnic groups in Famagusta: the Jews — as we have seen — occupied the south-western part of the city, the Latins the northern and eastern part, and the Greeks were to the south. But there was no fixed and absolute rule, and there was no lack of economic and other relations between the various ethnic groups. As regards Greek-Genoese relations we know, for example, that as the fifteenth century progressed, the number of Greeks serving the Genoese administration as mercenaries for military defence gradually grew. This was mainly because it was becoming more and more difficult for the Genoese to supply the numbers of recruits needed from their own manpower.²⁶ Information on other reciprocal contacts is abundant. A *tabernarius*, Serini Cachotripitri, for example, ran a tavern in a house owned by a Genoese; a certain Papone appeared on the list of debtors of a Ligurian shipwright; and Simonino Mistachieli, the son of *papas* Stefano Perdihi, received his ecclesiastical tonsure in May 1456 according to the rites of the Holy Roman Church.²⁷

The presence on Cyprus of a large contingent of families originating from the Holy Land was remarkable. Nicolò de Marthono, in the account of his pilgrimage, writing about Famagusta, stated that after the fall of Acre, 'omnes illi de Acri, qui evaserunt, fugierunt ad insulam Cipri'.²⁸ Not all the Syrians who fled to Cyprus came from Acre, though, since other cities were also represented. Syrian Christians from all social levels came, and there is frequent proof of this in the Genoese documentation.

A certain Pasqualino di Gibelletto, as we have seen, was one of those who in October 1447 swore their loyalty to the *Protettori delle Compere di San Giorgio*; on 18 March 1448 he entered service as a *ministralis* of Famagusta.²⁹ We have various pieces of information

26. Balard, 'Les formes militaires', 77-8; id., 'In extremo Europae: Les soudoyers de l'Orient latin (XIV^e-XV^e siècles)', in *Homme et société: Mélanges offerts à Georges Duby* (Aix-en-Provence, 1992), Vol. II, pp. 167-80. The Genoese enlisted not only Greeks but also Syrians and Armenians, many of whose names we know thanks to the extant registers of the *Massaria* of Famagusta.

27. ASG, filza 843, docs. 81, 94, 181.

28. L. Le Grand, 'Rélation de pèlerinage à Jérusalem de Nicolas de Martoni, notaire italien (1394-1395)', *Revue de l'Orient latin*, 3 (1885), 631. See also D. Jacoby, 'The Rise of a New Emporium in the Eastern Mediterranean: Famagusta in the Late Thirteenth Century', *Meletai kai Ypomnēmata*, 1 (1984), 143-79.

29. ASG, sala 34, reg. 590/1278, fol. 53r. Pasqualino di Gibelletto was already fulfilling the same responsibilities in 1443: ASG, sala 34, reg. 590/1276, fol. 104r.

about other men from Giblet (Byblos) and from Tripoli. Iacopo di Gibelletto, the son of Pietro, *habitor Famaguste*, with his father's agreement on 14 March 1453 freed an 18-year-old Bulgarian slave who he had bought in Turkey; in 1456 he is still called a *habitor Famaguste*.³⁰ The *presbiter* Domenico di Gibelletto, who in 1456 was *subcantator* at the Church of Saint Nicholas in Famagusta, had figured the previous year in the list of debtors of Finarino Galea from Finale Ligure, the shipwright, to the sum of five and a half ducats.³¹ Dimitri di Tripoli, a mason, and Abraham di Tripoli, who are described as residents of Famagusta in 1453 and 1455 respectively, appeared occasionally as witnesses to deeds drawn up by the notary Antonio Foglietta.³² And Cagi Abraino, a burgess of Famagusta, for the yearly sum of five and a half bezants, received from the city of Genoa the concession of a shop behind the palace, near the shop of the late Nasar *fayolatus*, for 29 years dating from 16 February 1456.³³

The description of Nasar as *fayolatus* provides the opportunity to draw attention to another category of people present in considerable numbers on fifteenth-century Cyprus: that of the so-called *faiolati*. The meaning of the term is not quite clear. It is possible that they came from Syria, because we sometimes find this term in reference to people originating from Syria or in conjunction with the names of persons from Beirut or Tripoli. For example, we find in a register of the *Massaria* of Famagusta, under the date 15 May 1443, the following note: 'Expense extraordinarie facte et fiende per magnificum dominum capitaneum, massarios et Officium Baylie, deputatum pro provisione fienda ad defensionem civitatis Famaguste occasione clasis Soldani, debent nobis [. . .], et sunt pro pane, vino et caxeo dato certis familiis faiholatis, qui conducti fuerunt de Syria ad habitandum in Famagusta cum navi Iacobi Isnardi [. . .]'.³⁴ And in another register, under the date

30. ASG, filza 843, docs. 38, 138.

31. Ibid., docs. 94, 181.

32. Cf., for example, *ibid.*, docs. 61, 117.

33. ASG, sala 34, reg. 590/1279, fol. 92r. The entry is dated 17 Feb. 1457. Nasar, who was allowed by the commune to run a tavern located 'in platea palatii per contra tabernam Georgii Ercherii', was still alive the year before: *ibid.*, fol. 91r. See also reg. 590/1276, fols. 182r, 434r.

34. ASG, sala 34, reg. 590/1276, fol. 29v. On people from Beirut and Tripoli whose names are followed by the description 'faiolato', see, for instance, ASG, filza 843, docs. 112, 117 (Rolando di Beirut, Teodoro di Tripoli); sala 34, reg. 590/1280, fol. 91v (Marion di Tripoli); reg. 590/1281, fol. 55v. (Pietro di Tripoli).

of 19 September 1448, we find this note: 'Massaria comunis Ianue in Famagusta debet nobis pro ipso Marco [Marco Gabriele] et sunt pro modietis CCLXV grani dati per ipsum, nomine comunis, diversis faiolatis qui venerunt ad habitandum in Famagusta vigore deliberacionis [. . .]'.³⁵ Nicolae Jorga, for his part, has asked the following question with regard to the first of these two passages: 'Might these *facholati* be *francomates* [freed persons], mentioned in Cypriot chronicles and documents?'³⁶ It is apparent that the *faiolati* were linked together by something which made them a community or a particular category of persons, but it is not yet possible to define this exactly. A Genoese document of 1 February 1458 adds to our doubts, since it contains the will of a certain Maria *de Cipro de progenie faiholatorum*.³⁷

Among those who were present at the oath of loyalty to the Office of San Giorgio in 1447 — as we have mentioned above — four 'white Genoese' were explicitly mentioned: Perrino and Paulino Bibi, Guglielmo di Aciri and Iosifi Soia di Nicosia. Even these were mostly of Syrian descent, and on Cyprus they belonged to a particular group of people, called precisely 'white Genoese', enjoying the protection of Genoa, just as the 'white Venetians' enjoyed the protection of Venice. It is known that some of them reached high economic and social positions in fifteenth-century Cypriot society, achieving institutional responsibilities within the Genoese administration and occupying important functions and positions of prestige within the royal administration.³⁸ Tommaso Bibi and Iacopo Urri should be mentioned in particular, as the most important members of their respective families in the fifteenth century.

The first one, Tommaso Bibi, had been a student in Padua in 1419, where he had graduated in the arts in 1420 and gained a degree in medicine in 1424. In 1426, when the king of Cyprus was a prisoner in Egypt, Bibi was sent to Cairo. In 1432, he was appointed notary of Pope Martin V, and in 1449 he was in Genoa as ambassador.³⁹ His name

35. ASG, sala 34, reg. 590/1277, fol. 110v.

36. N. Jorga, 'Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisades au XV^e siècle', *Revue de l'Orient latin*, 4 (1896), 112.

37. ASG, filza 660, not. Branca Bagnara, doc. 140.

38. On *genovesi bianchi*, see D. Jacoby, 'Citoyens', 159-88; Balletto, 'Uomini di Novi', p. 21, n. 19, and the bibliography cited in Balletto, 'Genovesi e Piemontesi', n. 10.

39. Rudt de Collenberg, 'Etudes de prosopographie', 629-30. On the Bibi family, see also the bibliography cited in Balletto, 'Genovesi e Piemontesi', n. 18.

appears in 1453 in the documents of the notary Antonio Foglietta when his legal representative (*procuratore*), Andrea Bovono di Novi, made a claim for various sums of money owed to Tommaso Bibi by the Crown.⁴⁰

Iacopo Urri, like many prominent persons in Cyprus in the fifteenth century, had also attended the University of Padua, where he had studied civil law between 1415 and 1419.⁴¹ In 1431 he had been *iudex et auditor* to the king, and from 1432 chamberlain and chancellor of the kingdom of Cyprus, as well as the favourite of King John II. In 1436 and 1437 he distanced himself from these responsibilities due to the intervention of Cardinal Hugh de Lusignan and his sister Agnes, but Urri continued to hold the function of Viscount of Nicosia. In 1451 he was the king's *procuratore*. By 1456, according to the documents of Antonio Foglietta, Urri was once more the king's *auditor* and in this guise heard the protest lodged by Lazzaro Lercari, *procuratore* of the Genoese *capitano* of Famagusta and of the *Officium Monete*. Lercari was protesting the king's multiple violations of the peace agreement between himself and the Genoese. But Urri's star may have already been descending, for on 1 April 1457 he was assassinated by Jacques de Lusignan, the future king Jacques (James) II.⁴²

Another group of which we find traces in Genoese sources is the Armenian component of Famagustan society, although the documents do not always explicitly indicate the ethnic origin of the persons whose names are mentioned. We shall thus restrict ourselves to a few definite examples. In 1450 one Canes Faraihi of Nicosia and one Mariun, who was probably also a resident of Nicosia, had contacts with the Genoese Oliverio Grillo concerning a shipment of cloth. Filippino de Cimiso, called Cardasa, was one of the debtors of Geronimo di Loreto to the amount of 15 bezants on 12 March 1456, when Geronimo drew up his will, since Filippino had bought a bow from him. Abrae, son of the late Giovanni, a resident of Nicosia, and his brother Luca, were directly involved in 1456 in the sales contract for half of a vessel (*gripo*), drawn up between Ianino Foscarino of Crete and Antoniotto de Frevante. And

40. ASG, filza 843, doc. 35 (for published documents, see n. 24 above). See also Balletto, 'Genovesi e Piemontesi', 98; id., 'Uomini di Novi', pp. 7-8.

41. On attendance at the University of Padua by Cypriot students, see B. Betto, 'Nuove ricerche su studenti ciprioti all'Università di Padova', *Thesaurismata*, 23 (1993), 40-90.

42. Rudt de Collenberg, 'Etudes de prosopographie', 631-2; ASG, filza 843, doc. 157. On the Urri family, see also the bibliography cited in Balletto, 'Genovesi e Piemontesi', n. 18.

individuals named Andrea, Asalono, Emibe, and Stefano are listed, in 1456, among the *stipendiarii* or *armigeri* in service at the military installations of Famagusta.⁴³

Certainly the fact that people of diverse ethnic origin or nationality lived in close contact on a day to day basis encouraged knowledge of each other and the possible exchange of some traditions. We need only remind ourselves, as an example, that on Cyprus a particular custom concerning dowries was practised. The Genoese themselves did not disdain to use it at times, showing their adaptability and broadmindedness. We find explicit mention of this custom in the contract signed on 18 July 1454 between the above-mentioned Genoese *civis* Geronimo di Loreto, son of the late Francesco, and the *venerabilis dominus presbiter* Giovanni Lulo, the canon of Famagusta, in reference to the dowry of Violantina — the daughter of Giorgio Lulo and of Andriola, the sister of the above-mentioned cleric and wife of Geronimo. On her marriage Violantina brought her husband the sum of 11,150 Famagustan bezants as a dowry, including 2,500 bezants in cash. If the woman were to die first and was childless, 2,500 bezants would have remained as the husband's property; however, if Geronimo were to die first, Violantina would receive, above and beyond the dowry and the addition, 300 ducats from his own assets.⁴⁴ The Genoese *civis* Antoniotto de Frevante adopted the same custom, when he was about to marry a widow: Iana daughter of the late *dominus* Ugo Soldano, a *spectabilis miles*, whose first husband, another Genoese, Giovanni de Carmadino, burgess of Famagusta, had died in 1456, some time between the month of June and 19 July.⁴⁵ And also documents referring to the marriage between the *egregius dominus* Giovanni Bibi, the brother of the Tommaso Bibi mentioned above (thus a 'white Genoese'), with the *domina* Maria, the daughter of Nicolò Cebac or Zebac *secundum consuetudinem Ciprianorum*, refer to the local custom concerning the dowry. This marriage, following the death of Giovanni, which occurred between 4 October and 4 December 1448, was the cause of a complicated legal morass in which, besides Tommaso Bibi, the wife and the brother-in-law of the deceased, the *vicecomes* of the *curia Siriorum*, the *capitano* of Famagusta, and the vicar, all found themselves involved.⁴⁶

43. ASG, filza 843, docs. 31, 134, 173 (doc. 134 published in Balletto, *Piemontesi del Quattrocento*, pp. 124-7); reg. 590/1279, fol. 49v; reg. 590/1280, fols. 11v, 20r, 52v, 77v.

44. ASG, filza 843, doc. 73.1. See Balletto, 'Genovesi e Piemontesi', p. 93.

45. Ibid., doc. 161. See Balletto, 'Note sull'isola di Cipro', p. 130.

46. Balletto, 'L'isola di Cipro', 220-21, 228.

Genoese documentation drawn up on Cyprus often uses terms laced with the language current there. One example is the word *ihera*, which sometimes precedes the names of women who are not of Latin stock or are of humble social status. This seems to be the case with regard to a certain *ihera Goze* or an *ihera Marion*, who were both involved in an identical issue regarding an inheritance.⁴⁷ In the same source, Goze is described either with the word *ihera* or with the title *dama*,⁴⁸ which in contrast seems to have been used more specifically for women of a higher rank such as, for example, the *magnifica dama* Zoy Catocosino, the wife of the *magnificus dominus* Giacomo de Forli, *comitis Iopensis*.⁴⁹ But these examples are taken from notarial deeds, and it is well known that medieval notaries were not models of accuracy.

A direct consequence of the cosmopolitanism of the population was the fact that several languages were spoken in Famagusta, so that sometimes an interpreter was necessary; this function was provided for within the Genoese administration. We know, for example, that a certain Mesaut or Misaut Celle, Celem, or Selem was the interpreter of the *curia* of Famagusta.⁵⁰ He was still holding this position on 1 October of that year, but 14 days later he was being described as an *olim turcimannus*. On 3 December of the following year Misaut filed a complaint against the *capitano* Pietro de Marco, alleging that de Marco, 'postposito omni timore Dei ac amore proximi spretaque omni consciencia ac fama propria, inique et iniuste, contra omnem equitatem atque iusticiam et iura omnia', had deprived him of the position which he had been holding for several years 'vigore litterarum ducalium et comissionum autenticarum', causing serious damage to him and his family and driving him to turn to mendicancy. Since the *sindacatori* (auditors) did not accept his accusation, he filed an appeal;⁵¹ but he probably never returned to service since in 1452, five years later, when he had already died, he was described in a document as 'olim interpres curie Famaguste'.⁵²

47. ASG, filza 843, docs. 14, 79.

48. Ibid., doc. 9.

49. Ibid., doc. 152.

50. ASG, sala 34, reg. 590/1277, fol. 3r, 6r; pub. in Polonio, 'Famagosta genovese', docs. 1, 4.

51. Misaut also accused Pietro de Marco of depriving him shortly afterwards of a contract for two *gabelle*: Fossati Raiteri, 'Genova e Cipro', docs. 32-8, 277.9, 277.57. Misaut Celem is mentioned frequently in the registers of the *Massaria* of Famagusta.

52. ASG, filza 843, doc. 17.

In November 1456 the Genoese Lodisio de Amore was working as an interpreter for the *curia*.⁵³ On the preceding 3 July he had exercised that function for the contract according to which Giorgio de Cario *faiolatus* (who, another document informs us, was a resident of Beirut) appointed the *bazariotus* Barsom *de Cario*, a resident of Famagusta, as his *procuratore*. A certain Giorgio Manson, a 'white Genoese', who was 'inteligens etiam dictam linguam arabicam', was also present as a witness to the same contract.⁵⁴

Arabic was thus one of the languages normally spoken on Cyprus, because of the presence there of considerable numbers of people originating from Syria. The other, naturally, was Greek, as is attested to moreover by the Augustinian monk Giacomo di Verona, who in the account of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1335 devotes a few pages to Famagusta, where he writes that he attended the funeral of a rich person. He heard a song for female voices at the funeral, but could not understand the words because they were in Greek. He then adds: 'omnes de Cipro loquuntur grecum, bene tamen sciunt saracenicum et linguam francigenam, sed plus utuntur lingua greca'.⁵⁵

Agostino di Verona also mentions French, the language which had been dominant since the beginning of the Lusignan dynasty, especially at the higher social levels. It has been said that the use of French gradually declined as time passed and at the same rate as Frankish society declined, so that by the mid-fifteenth century it was hardly spoken any more even at the court and an interpreter was often needed.⁵⁶ This is also confirmed by the fact that the more important chroniclers of the fifteenth century, Leontios Makhairas and George Boustronios, wrote in Greek, and those of the next century — Amadi, Florio Bustron, Diomede Strambaldi, and Etienne de Lusignan — used Italian instead.⁵⁷ But the French language was not completely abandoned, even when it was often found mixed with Greek or Italian idioms.⁵⁸ Fifteenth-century Cyprus, and Genoese Famagusta in particular, may thus be considered as a meeting-point for various ethnic groups and cultures, which coexisted for long periods and exerted a reciprocal influence on different levels.

53. Ibid., doc. 177.

54. Ibid., doc. 160.

55. R. Röhrich, 'Le Pèlerinage du moine augustin Jacques de Vérone (1335)', *Revue de l'Orient latin*, 3 (1895), 177-8. See also Jacoby, 'Citoyens', 167-78; Balletto, 'Note sull'isola di Cipro', p. 138 n. 23.

56. Rudt de Collenberg, 'Le déclin', 76-7.

57. Ibid., 76; J. Richard, 'Culture franque et culture grecque: Le royaume de Chypre au XVème siècle', *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 11 (1987), 399-400.

58. Richard, 'Culture franque', 406-7.

Between East and West: A Jewish Doctor from Spain

Ron Barkai

The day of wandering, bitter and impetuous
Left me intoxicated by the wine of passion;
I shall sit desolate amongst savages, neither
does one ask after me nor show compassion.
I cry out to the left — to get no answers,
I turn to the right — to find no consolation.¹

In these lines, Mosheh ibn 'Ezra, a medieval Jewish poet born in Granada, expressed only too well the general feeling of catastrophe, both personal and cultural, experienced by the Spanish Jews living in Muslim Spain, who were forced to leave the country of their birth as a result of the religious persecution of *ahl al-dhimma* by the ruling Almoravids and Almohads. Modern historians as well have described the events of the end of the eleventh century and the first half of the twelfth in much the same fashion.² There is no doubt that the Jewish community of al-Andalus was traumatized by those tragic events, especially the educated élite, which had extremely close ties to Arab culture. However, the exodus of these Jews to Christian countries, especially to the northern Iberian Peninsula, to the south of France, and to Italy, opened a new chapter in medieval Jewish cultural history, a chapter even grander perhaps than what is generally called 'The Golden Age' of the Jews in Muslim Spain. These educated, Arabic speaking

This article was translated by Elizabeth Maor.

1. Ch. Schirmann (ed.), *Hebrew Poetry in Spain and Provence*, Vol. I, Pt. 2 (Tel Aviv, 1971), p. 381.
2. See, for example, Y. Baer, *The History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, trans. L. Schoffman (Philadelphia, 1961), Vol. I, pp. 59-77.

exiles and their descendants helped, in no small measure, to launch the 'Second Renaissance' of medieval Hebrew culture. Although the Hebrew language had been used almost exclusively by the Jews of Muslim Spain for purposes of worship and the composition of religious and secular poetry, severance from Arabic culture and language caused a great change in the status of the Hebrew language, and it became the chief means of expression for Jewish creativity in the fields of science, philosophical speculation, and literature. From the twelfth century till the end of the Middle Ages, in addition to the enormous corpus of material originally written in Hebrew, more than 2,000 scientific treatises were translated from Arabic and Latin.³ In fact, just as 'Jewish science'⁴ in al-Andalus and the Muslim East was an integral part of Arabic science, so was Hebrew-language scientific literature closely allied to the science which developed in Latin Europe from the end of the eleventh century onwards. The numerous Hebrew translations of Latin scientific writings testify to the fact, and indeed, some of the Arabic scientific works were actually translated into Hebrew from their Latin versions and not from the original.

The transition to writing scientific manuscripts in Hebrew instead of Arabic was by no means simple, because the Hebrew language lacked the necessary terminology for the various branches of science prevalent in the Middle Ages. The translators' plight is described by one of the first to engage in the craft, Yehudah ibn Tibbon:

[Arabic] is in fact an extensive language and full of resources concerning every subject, it satisfies the necessities of all those who speak or write this language. Its expressions are exact and

3. On this process see 'The Rise of Hebrew Medical Literature', in R. Barkai, *A History of Jewish Gynaecological Literature in the Middle Ages* (forthcoming). With regard to Hebrew translations, see A.S. Halkin, 'Translations and Translators', *Encyclopedia Judaica*, 1971, Vol. 15, cols. 1318-29; M. Steinschneider, *Die hebraeischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters und die Juden als Dolmetscher* (Berlin, 1893, 2nd edn. Graz, 1956), pp. xv-xxiv; for an excellent analysis of the translators' prefaces and their motivations, see J.-P. Rothschild, 'Motivations et méthodes des traductions en hébreu du milieu du XII^e à la fin du XV^e siècle', in *Traductions et traducteurs au Moyen Age*, ed. G. Contamine (Paris, 1989), pp. 279-302.
4. I use this term principally to refer to scientific treatises written in the languages of the Jews, because from the point of view of content, with certain exceptions, there is no significant difference between these treatises and those written by Muslims or Christians. With reference to medicine, see R. Barkai, *Les infortunes de Dinah, ou la gynécologie juive au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1991), esp. pp. 7-10.

clear, and it reaches the heart of all questions, much more than is possible in Hebrew. For what has remained for us of the Hebrew language is not more than the Biblical Books, and this is not sufficient for all the necessities . . .⁵

It is this aspect of the Hebrew language that explains the phenomenon emphasized below: the use of the Arabic language by Jewish doctors who lived in Christian Spain, a use which continued for hundreds of years after they had left Muslim Spain. They used Arabic medical literature for the purposes of study and instruction and for the writing of learned medical treatises until they were expelled from Spain in 1492.

The most important work on this subject was done by Peter Sj. van Koningsveld, who made a thorough and exhaustive study of all the Arab manuscripts circulated in Christian Spain between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries. He summarized his surprising discovery in the following words:

As far as one can tell from the materials preserved, Arabic medical and scientific manuscripts of Christian Spain circulated almost exclusively in Jewish circles. . . . Our information about the scribes, students and owners of medical and scientific manuscripts is in fact quite detailed. Several manuscripts copied for Jewish owners were written by Muslim scribes living as war captives in Christian Spain. . . . Other manuscripts were written by Jewish scribes. . . . Not only were many manuscripts directly copied for Jewish owners, but they also remained in Jewish hands during following generations, as we can gauge from owners' entries . . .⁶

5. Yehudah ibn Tibbon was born in Granada and moved to the south of France c.1060, practised medicine in Lunel and there also translated from Arabic to Hebrew. The quotation given here appeared in his preface to the book *Duties of the Heart* by Bahayah ibn Paquda (Zifroni edn., Jerusalem, 1962), p. 2. The problem of the lack of suitable Hebrew terminology bothered translators and writers throughout the Middle Ages. In the fourteenth century, for instance, the Spaniard Shlomoh ben Mosheh Shalom translated the treatise by Antonius Guainerius on fevers from Latin into Hebrew, and apologized for the use of non-Hebrew terms while defending the honour of the Hebrew language: 'In fact, all these terms existed in Hebrew, but were lost during many generations in which that language remained in disuse'. Parma, MS 1365/7, f. 23r.
6. In the Festschrift for H.R. Singer. I thank the author for permitting me to cite his study before its publication. This article is in fact complementary to a previous

To this should be added that from the examination of medical treatises written by Jews in Christian Spain between the beginning of the fourteenth and the end of the fifteenth century, it becomes apparent that when Jewish authors wrote important and comprehensive treatises on medicine, they preferred to write them in Arabic, in spite of the fact that without doubt they were fully conversant with Hebrew, Latin, or Castilian. The most prominent work was *Kitāb al-ṭibb al-qastālī al-malūkī*, written at the beginning of the fourteenth century by a Jew from Toledo, in all probability from the Ibn Shoshan family, well known for its physicians.⁷

The list of known medical treatises written in Arabic by Jews who lived in the cultural milieu of Christian Spain continues at the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century with the work of the famous doctor Yehoshua ha-Lorqi. A Spanish Jew, ha-Lorqi was the personal physician of Pope Benedictus XIII, and somewhat later, in 1412, he was baptized a Christian and given the name Hieronymus de Sancta Fide.⁸ Some years before his conversion he was asked by Benveniste de la Caballeria, one of the most powerful figures in the Jewish community of Aragon and an important functionary in the royal administration, to write a medical book containing up-to-date information, and this to prevent doctors from prescribing inappropriate medication for their patients, or from prescribing inaccurate doses. And

one, in which the author provides a list and an analysis of the existing manuscripts. See P. Sj. van Koningsveld, 'Andalusian-Arab Manuscripts from Christian Spain: A Comparative Intercultural Approach', *Israel Oriental Studies*, 12 (1992), 75-110.

7. Luis García Ballester and Concepción Vázquez de Benito are currently working on a critical edition and comprehensive study of the work. In a preliminary study the two scholars assessed the importance of the medical book in the following words: 'It is an intellectual product highly elaborated, the expression of mature Galenism, based on direct knowledge of Galen's medical *corpus* and the extensive repertory of medical works of Arabic Galenism. Due to its formal structure, the subject which it elaborates, and its didactic character, it is indeed a singular writing in medical literature in the Late Middle Ages, the Latin as well as the Arabic or the Jewish . . . The work is the result of the intelligent thought of a practical Jewish physician who worked among Christians and who took part in the medical-scientific polemics of his time, those originating in the Christian-Castilian circles in which he lived, and in the polemics which took place in the rationalist circles of the Castilian Jewish community . . .', 'Los médicos judíos castellanos del siglo XIV y el galensimo árabe: El kitāb al-ṭibb al-qastālī al-malūkī (Libro de medicina castellana regia) (c.1312)', *Asclepio*, 1 (1990), 120.
8. On Yehoshua' ha-Lorqi, his conversion and the subsequent polemics against Jews and Judaism, see Baer, *History of the Jews*, Vol. II, pp. 139-50.

since the proposed work would be of great importance, Yehoshua' ha-Lorqi preferred to write it in Arabic. The original is lost, but a Hebrew version is extant, bearing the name *Guerem ha-ma'alot*. It was translated by Vidal Benveniste ben Lavi, son of the rich and powerful man who had commissioned the writing of book. What is important for our purposes is the translator's preface, in which, among other things, he states: 'And he composed that treatise in Arabic, the sweet and pure language, in which he was fluent'.⁹ Yehoshua ha-Lorqi was well educated and able to write the work in Hebrew (as were his colleagues), or even in Latin or Romance. The translator explains his preference for Arabic by citing the quality of the language, despite his knowledge that some of the Jewish physicians who would need the book would not be able to read it. However, it can be inferred from what he writes that a large proportion of educated Spanish Jews were in fact able to read a medical text written in Arabic.¹⁰

The final piece of direct evidence — to which I devote the major part of this article — dates to the beginning of the sixteenth century, namely shortly after the Jews were expelled from Spain in 1492. It is to be found in the treatise written on the bubonic plague, *Kitāb majannat al-tā'ūn wa-l-wabā'*, written by the Spanish Jew Eliahu ben Avraham, who dedicated it to the Ottoman sultan, Selim I (1512-20).¹¹ There are two main reasons for the importance of this text: the medical-scholastic discussion which it presents on the appearance of the plague, its aetiology and the various methods prevalent for combating it in both the Christian and Muslim cultures; and the fascinating history it provides of a Spanish doctor who studied medical theory within the framework of his Jewish family, gained practical knowledge from working side by side with Christian physicians, and worked as a doctor in Spanish cities until 1492. With the Expulsion he first moved to Naples, where he worked as a doctor, and finally settled within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire, where he wrote his treatise.

9. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, MS héb. 1143, fol. 86r.

10. 'Seeing that his words were for some readers like a sealed book, for they were not proficient in that language, the author ordered me to translate it into our old and sanctified tongue, so it would be useful for all'. Ibid.

11. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ms 3676.6, fols. 185r-216r. A brief outline of the contents of the treatise is given in M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam* (Leiden, 1970), pp. 348-9. A short reference on the work is also included in M. Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East* (Princeton, 1977), pp. 332-3. I am currently preparing a critical exegesis of the text which will be included in a more comprehensive work about how the plague appears in medical treatises. The name of the author as it appears in the manuscript is Ilyās ibn Ibrāhīm al-Yahūdī al-Ishbānī (and not al-Isbānī as copied by Dols).

Eliahu ben Avraham filled the requirements for the ideal doctor set down by Galen in the second century AD and by the Muslim doctor and philosopher al-Rāzī, who stated that 'the best doctor should be a philosopher'.¹² In fact, in his discussion on the plague not only did he use arguments taken from medieval philosophy and often quote from philosophical works, but also identified himself as the author, apparently in Arabic, of a work called *The Presentation of Philosophy*.¹³

From the information given by the author about his theoretical studies (*al-mumārasa al-'ilmiya*), it is possible to reconstruct the library to which 'qualified doctors' were expected to refer. It contained the basic literature of the ancients (*al-mutaqaddimūn*) and of later writers (*al-muta'akhhirūn*), that is to say, writers of the Middle Ages. He is the first to mention three medical texts attributed to the Hippocratic Corpus: *On Epidemics*,¹⁴ *On Acute Illnesses*,¹⁵ *On Prognostics*.¹⁶ Further on in his work he mentions three works by Galen: *On Fevers*,¹⁷ *On the Great Art*,¹⁸ *On Dietetics*.¹⁹ After citing medical books

12. B.A. Iskandar, 'Al-Rāzī wa-miḥnat al-tabīb', *Al Mashriq*, 54 (1960), 498-9. See also F. Micheau, 'Les traités sur "L'examen du médecin" dans le monde arabe médiéval', in *Maladies, médecines et sociétés, approches historiques pour le présent*, Actes du VI^e colloque d'histoire au présent (Paris, 1993), Vol. II, pp. 117-28.

13. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, MS 3676,6, fol. 196v. The author refers readers to this book to point out that the titles were written in Arabic, but does not specifically say that the treatise itself was written in that language.

14. 'Kitāb fidīmiyā'; the correct Arabic title is *Kitāb abīdhimiyyā*, see F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, Vol. III, Medizin, Pharmazie, Zoologie, Tierheilkunde (Leiden, 1970), pp. 34-5.

15. *Kitāb al-amrād al-hādda*, see *ibid.*, pp. 33-4.

16. 'Kitāb taqdim al-ma'arifa'; the correct Arabic title is *Kitāb taqdimat al-ma'arifa*, see *ibid.*, pp. 32-3.

17. *Kitāb [fi] asnāf al-hummayūt*, see *ibid.*, pp. 94-5.

18. The Arabic translation of the work of Galen is *Kitāb al-sinā 'a al-saghīra*, that is to say, 'The Lesser Book of the Art', and not the 'Great' as stated by the author. This medical book was known in the West by the titles *Ars parva*, *Ars medica*, and *Microtechnie*. He may be referring to the work of Hunain ibn Ishaq, *Masā'il fi al-ṭibb li-l-muta' tallimīn* or *Kitāb al-mudkhal ila al-ṭibb*, which was based on the writing of Galen and served as a general introduction to the theory of medicine. This work was also one of the basic books for the study of medicine in the West, and was known in its Latin translation by the name *Isagoge Iohanicii ad Tegni Galieni* or *Liber introductorius in medicinam*. See *ibid.*, pp. 247-51.

19. The full name of the book is *Kitāb al-aghdiya wa-l-ashriba* (The book of food and drink), *ibid.*, p. 412.

translated from Greek into Arabic (that is to say, the ancient writings), Eliahu ben Avraham lists the works written originally in Arabic. The first is the *Book of Fevers*, written by the Jewish doctor and philosopher Ytzhak ben Shlomoh ha-Ysræli,²⁰ who is better known by his Arabic name, Ishāq al-Isrā'īlī. It is followed by the names of four medical treatises written by the great authorities of Muslim medicine: *Kitāb al-hāwī*, the medical encyclopedia written by Abū Bakr ben Zakarīyā' al-Rāzī, known in the Latin West as Rhazes;²¹ *Medical Epistles*, written by the Spanish doctor and philosopher Abū Marwān ibn Zuhr;²² the *Qānūn* written by Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna);²³ and finally the *Kullīyyaāt*, written by Ibn Rushd, the Cadi of Cordoba.²⁴

In addition to these basic books written in Arabic, which the author studied as part of his medical training, he notes 'other books by Jews and Christians'.²⁵ However, he gives neither titles nor authors, most probably because these books were written in Hebrew or Latin, or possibly even in one of the languages spoken in the Iberian Peninsula, and their names would have been meaningless to readers of Arabic living in the Ottoman Empire.

It is worthwhile to point out that despite the significant differences between the Muslim system of medical assistance and that of the Christian West, both traditions considered theoretical studies and practical experience to be the two stages of training for a learned physician, as opposed to a 'charlatan'. However, although in the Islamic world the professional activity of a qualified doctor was not clearly regulated by legislation,²⁶ in Latin Europe, beginning with the thirteenth or fourteenth century, such rules were laid down, the fruit of

20. *Kitāb al-hummayāt*, see *ibid.*, p. 296; cf. J.D. Latham, 'Isaac Israeli's 'Kitāb al-hummayāt' and the Latin and Castilian Texts', *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 14 (1969), 80-95.

21. For information about this doctor/philosopher see Sezgin, *Geschichte*, Vol. III, pp. 274-80.

22. See G. Colin, *Avenzoar, sa vie et ses oeuvres* (Paris, 1911); cf. D. Jacquart and F. Micheau, *La médecine arabe et l'occident médiéval* (Paris, 1990), pp. 142-3, 205-8.

23. *Kitāb al-qānūn fī al-tibb*. See Jacquart and Micheau, *La médecine arabe*, pp. 73-84, 149-64.

24. *Kitāb al-Kullīyyāt fī l-tibb*, annotated edn. by J.M. Fórneas Besteiro and C. Álvarez de Morales, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1987); cf. *ibid.*, pp. 182-5, 193-5.

25. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, MS 3676.6, fol. 185r.

26. For Muslim society in the Middle Ages, see the conclusions of Françoise Micheau, 'Les traités sur l'examen du médecin', in *La médecine arabe*, pp. 124-5: '... il semble que, dans le monde arabe classique, la médecine savante

co-operation between the local authorities and the medical faculties and physicians' guilds.²⁷ Eliahu ben Avraham, like the overwhelming majority of European Jews in the Middle Ages, could not study medicine at one of the Christian centres of higher education, namely the *studia* or the universities. Nevertheless, if he passed the formal examinations he could receive a *licentia curandi et practicandi* from the local administration.²⁸ Like the other members of the minority groups in Spain, Muslims and Jews alike, Eliahu ben Avraham studied medical theory privately in the 'open system', the one-to-one educational system of a tutoring physician and his pupil. He was one of many pupils who studied in the households of families in which the medical profession was passed down from father to son.²⁹

He studied the complementary course of practical medicine (*al-mumārasa al-'amalīya*) in various Spanish cities under the tutelage of Christian physicians. That was his opportunity to learn the methods used to treat the bubonic plague in the Christian world. In his treatise on the treatment of the plague, both in the chapters dealing with specific treatment of patients stricken by the plague and in the chapters

... était une médecine exercée par un petit nombre de "médecins-philosophes", réservée dans les faits à une élite urbaine . . . Néanmoins, par leur appels constants à l'autorité publique, au discernement de la clientèle, au regard critique des collègues, les médecins arabes ont rejeté un art de guérir qui relèverait du subjectif et de l'empirique pour privilégier une conception de la science médicale alliant apprentissage des techniques et maîtrise du savoir, valeurs éthiques et réflexion sur l'homme.'

27. As to the medical curriculum and the legal arrangements for medical licenciation in the West, see especially V.L. Bullough, *The Development of Medicine as a Profession: The Contribution of the Medieval University to Modern Medicine* (New York, 1966); L. García Ballester *et al.*, *Medical Licensing and Learning in Fourteenth-Century Valencia*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society (Philadelphia, 1989), Vol. 79, Pt. 6; N.G. Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (Chicago – London, 1990), pp. 48-77.
28. See R. Cecil, 'The Qualification of Jewish Physicians in the Middle Ages', *Speculum*, 28 (1953), 834-43; J. Shatzmiller, 'On Becoming a Jewish Doctor in the High Middle Ages', *Sefarad*, 43 (1983), 239-50.
29. As the author himself testifies, 'I completed by theoretical studies with my family' (Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, MS 3676.6). I borrowed the term 'open system' from the book by L. García Ballester, in which he describes the method of medical instruction used by the Moriscos in Spain during the sixteenth century which was similar in many respects to that of the Jews in Latin Europe. See his *Los moriscos y la medicina. Un capítulo de la medicina y la ciencia marginadas en la España del siglo XVI* (Barcelona, 1984), pp. 140-43.

dealing with public health measures during times when an entire city is stricken, he often referred to the cumulative knowledge he had acquired during his practical studies. For instance, he refers to a list of drugs used to treat plague victims as 'Christian drugs', and continues, 'I myself tried this many times in Spain and in Naples and found [the drug] to be extremely beneficial'.³⁰ The most interesting note in this context deals with a prestigious drug which he brought from Christian Spain: 'Know that the Christian doctors use a preparation called "ma'jūn fāwzuhr" because their kings and the heads of their countries drink it, and it strengthens the major organs and voids putrid spirits . . . And the Christians also say that no preparation is used more often and even I studied it through personal experience'.³¹

Though he wrote his treatise in Arabic for Muslim readers, Eliahu ben Avraham praised and recommended the use of medicaments whose composition he learned from Christian physicians. Moreover, with regard to the most crucial question — that of the collective behaviour of the population during outbreaks of the plague — he relied entirely on the methods expounded in Christian medical literature. In Muslim culture, in spite of serious differences of opinion between some of the physicians and the religious sages and teachers of the law of Islam as to the nature of the plague, especially with regard to the question of whether or not to classify it as a contagious disease,³² it was almost universally agreed that the healthy population should not be evacuated from a place to which the plague had spread.³³ In the chapter dealing with 'Public health during an outbreak of the plague', the author quotes the position of Christian physicians who recommend flight from the cities and towns in which the plague is raging. This position is based on the observation of the behaviour of birds and other animals which leave the afflicted areas because the air is putrid, and find shelter in the high

30. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, MS 3676,6, fol. 190v.

31. Ibid., fol. 191r.

32. This was the opinion of the Andalusian physician, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, who rejected the decisions of the Muslim jurists (*fatāwā*) who wrote: 'The existence of contagion is well established through experience, research, sense perception, autopsy, and authenticated information, and this material is the proof'. Cited in Dols, *The Black Death*, p. 93.

33. The Ottoman jurist, Tāshköprüzāde, a contemporary of Eliahu ben Avraham, summarized the Muslim position in his treatise on the Black Plague by saying: 'Flight may not be possible because (1) the epidemic is universal; (2) the plague victims would be neglected; (3) the commonweal must be preserved from disruption and disorder' (Dols, *The Black Death*, p. 299).

mountains where the air is clean and fresh. If animals which lack reason act in such a fashion, continues the author, then it is even more incumbent upon humans, who were created with the power of reason, to flee from a place in which the air is putrid and causes the plague. There is no doubt that this was a bone of contention between the Christian and Muslim medical traditions,³⁴ and it is evident that the Jewish physician accepted the Christian position. While there is no confrontation between the two points of view in his writing, it is significant that he presents the possibility of flight from plague-ridden regions as the efficient and preferable solution.³⁵

One of the things that makes Eliahu ben Avraham's treatise unique is that apart from the chapters found in every medical book dealing with the bubonic plague (for example, aetiology, identification and classification of the plague and its causes, public health during outbreaks, clarification of treatment for plague victims), he includes nine scholastic discussions. These discussion in fact deal with the plague, but they have extensive philosophical and medical aspects as well:

- (1) Does pestilent fever belong to the category of diurnal and putrid fevers?
- (2) Are thunder, lightning, and columns of fire seen in the air portents of the plague or not?
- (3) Is the putridity naturally air-borne or not?
- (4) Does the living soul spring from within the heart or not?
- (5) If someone is exhausted and bathes at length, is he more susceptible to the disease?
- (6) Is there a significant change in pulse rate or urine as a result of being ill with the plague?
- (7) At which times of the year does the plague appear more often?
- (8) Is blood-letting efficacious in the cure of the plague?
- (9) Is it efficacious or not to treat plague victims with the *theriaka* [antidote] called *al-farūq*?³⁶

Eliahu ben Avraham's scientific method is perfectly evident in each chapter of his treatise. First, he had a wide general knowledge: besides the medical treatises he cites at the beginning of his work as the

34. See the excellent analysis by Dols of the different viewpoints regarding the plague and of the different reactions to it within the Muslim and European Christian societies.

35. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, MS 3676,6, fols. 188v-189r.

36. Ibid., fols. 195r-199r.

'theoretical basis' of his medical training, he often quotes authors from different cultures and from a variety of fields. Lack of space does not permit mention of them all, but it is worthwhile to note a few prominent examples. Among the many classical writers whom he quotes are Ovid, Pythagoras, and Ptolemy; he cites the philosophical works of Plato and Aristotle (whom he calls 'The Prince of Philosophers'), as well as many medical books from the Hippocratic Corpus and the Arabic translations of the works of Galen. No less interesting is the fact that he quotes medieval Latin authors such as St Isidor of Seville and Gregory of Tours, who, as far as is known, were never translated into Arabic or Hebrew. In addition to the physicians who wrote in Arabic whom he mentions in his preface, the author quotes 'Alī ibn al-'Abbās al-Majūsī and Ibn Sīnā. Eliahu ben Avraham does not mention these authors as authorities in order to boast about them, but rather to present different or even contradictory positions on the source of the bubonic plague and the methods of treating it. The author shows no favouritism when making use of scientific and philosophical literature. After noting the various positions, usually by quoting the source, he presents his own position and his reasons for holding it; why, in his opinion, a certain author is correct. Ibn Sīnā, called by him 'The Prince of Doctors' (*ra'īs al-aṭibbā'*),³⁷ is an exception, and he considers his book *Kitāb al-qānūn fī al-ṭibb* to be the highest scientific medical authority. His preference is not surprising, since a special place was reserved for the Canon, as it was called in the Christian world, not only in Arabic medicine, but in the medical schools of Western Europe³⁸ and in medieval Jewish medicine.³⁹

The way in which the Jewish physician relates to Ibn Sīnā is of special interest to us, because on the one hand his exegesis of the Canon

37. Ibid., fol. 191v.

38. See especially N.G. Siraisi, *Avicenna in Renaissance Italy: The Canon and Medical Teaching in Italian Universities after 1500* (Princeton, 1987).

39. One can learn of the tremendous influence of the Canon within the framework of Jewish medicine not only from the number of times it appears in Hebrew medical writings, but also from its history in Jewish medical culture: in 1279 it was translated in its entirety from Arabic to Hebrew by Nathan Hame'ati; the first two books were translated again in the thirteenth century by Zechariah ben Ytzhak ben Shaltiel; Hame'ati's translation was reworked and significantly improved c.1400 by the Spanish Jewish physician Yehoshua ha-Lorqi, and this version was one of the first Hebrew books printed; finally, so far no fewer than 111 whole or partial translated Hebrew manuscripts have been counted. See R. Richler, 'Manuscripts to Avicenna's Kanon in Hebrew Translation: A Revised and Up-to-date List', *Koroth*, 8 (1982), 145-68 (Hebrew).

is the main point of contention between him and the 'Christian doctors', and on the other hand he uses it, with indisputable medical authority, as the foundation of his pessimistic outlook regarding the possibility of curing people suffering from the plague. His pessimism *vis-à-vis* the capabilities of a mortal physician facing the plague runs through his entire treatise. It is firmly anchored in the theological explanation he gives for the plague. In the first chapter, devoted to the sources of the disease, Eliahu ben Avraham details the explanations accepted as scientific fact in classical antiquity and in the Middle Ages: terrestrial causes — for example, earthquakes, the accumulations of corpses after wars, et cetera — and celestial causes such as the unfavourable conjunction of the stars. These are all causes of the putridity of the air, which in turn brings the disease.⁴⁰ After the presentation of accepted medical causes, the author stresses his own position:

The fourth cause is not allied to the conjunction of the stars, nor to terrestrial causes, nor to the fire of the stars nor to the colours [of the sky], rather, God sent the disease to weary sinners so that they might return to Allah (may He be exalted), and *that is the real reason* [my italics] as the noble Isidorus recounted in *The Book on the Form of the Earth*: and know that the plague is a special, unknown disease, sent unto the world by God, may He be exalted. And we found this in the Law of Moses and in the Psalms of David, may they rest in peace, because whenever God, may He be exalted, wants to punish the sinners, He deliberately sends the sickness called the Plague. And the eyes of all mortals are bleared and they do not understand the causes of the plague nor its remedies . . . And all the doctors are lost and helpless to cure a person sick with the plague, because even if his heart beat is constant and his urine normal, even so he dies . . .⁴¹

In spite of the fact that the viewpoint expressed in these terms is totally pessimistic with regard to the physician's ability to help his

40. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, MS, 3676.6, fols. 186v-188r.

41. Ibid., fol. 188r. As to the position of the Muslim physicians, Michael Dols writes: 'When confronted by the Black Death, Muslims generally ascribed its ultimate cause to the will of God. The manner by which God caused it to occur among men, however, was the subject of innumerable and often contradictory explanations' (*The Black Death*, p. 84).

patient, it leaves room for hope in the sphere of the relations between man and his Creator, through his return to the path of righteousness. In this respect the viewpoint of the Jewish physician is closer to that which was prevalent in the Muslim world than to that of the Christian European world.⁴²

Eliahu ben Avraham was aware of the difficulty of such a position for the reader when presented in a medical treatise whose function was to give an immediate therapeutic solution. At the end of the chapter on the cure of the bubonic plague he repeats almost word for word the impossibility of curing the disease, which in his opinion was known to most of the ancient and contemporary physicians. However, there were two reasons why he viewed the treatment of plague victims as important, one 'psychological' and the other practical:

I was taught [when studying medical treatment] to value and appreciate two things: one is that if the disease is acute and the physician does not try to find a cure for it, the patient loses hope and no longer has the will to live, and many die because of hallucinations and heart failure. For it is the role of the expert physician to strengthen the heart [of the patient] by giving him medicines, as Galen the wise said: encouraging the heart is superior to stronger treatments . . . The other . . . is that a person sick with the epidemic (*al-maṭ'ūn*) is like a person fighting a battle. Those who are wounded in battle are not necessarily mortally wounded. Thus people sick with the epidemic do not [necessarily] suffer from putridity, and if it does not invade the heart, the person can possibly be cured.⁴³

Eliahu ben Avraham's pessimism was reinforced by Ibn Sīnā, who was, in his opinion, the highest medical authority. According him, Ibn

42. As opposed to Islam and Christianity, within Jewish society almost nothing was written about the Black Plague except medical treatises, of which there are many. By comparing the understanding of the nature of the plague as it appears in different forms of literature, Dols summarizes the difference between Islam and Christianity in the following way: 'If we compare the Judeo-Christian tradition with the Muslim religion, we can appreciate one of its major defects, the tendency to subsume death under punishment, to leave out the possibility of death which is not punishment . . . Specifically, the European writers laid greater emphasis upon the punitive aspect of the plague in God's plan than upon the monitory and purgative virtues of the disease found in Muslim society' (*The Black Death*, p. 297).

43. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, MS 3676.6, fol. 195r.

Sīnā devoted less space to his description of the treatment of the plague than to that of other diseases. The Christian physicians explained it by saying that, because of his greatness and wisdom, he described the treatment of all diseases with the same brevity, and did not devote special attention to the problems of treating the plague. According to the author, their interpretation was incorrect because

thanks to the greatness of his learning and the goodness of his intelligence, Ibn Sīnā understood that all physicians attempting to treat this disease are as blind men and that, since the Creation, no mortal has known exactly and with certainty how to treat plague victims. As was related by David (may he rest in peace) with regard to the way of curing the plague, all physicians are as blind men. And that is why Ibn Sīnā wrote so little about this matter.⁴⁴

More exactly, it should be pointed out that in the two chapters of the Canon devoted to the plague, Ibn Sīnā never compares physicians to blind men. The expression he does use in the Canon which approximates what is quoted by Eliahu ben Avraham is 'the doctors were amazed'.⁴⁵ As in other instances of treatises which were devoted to the plague and the treatment of its victims, it is difficult to determine whether the author's pessimism stems from deep religious feeling or from the bitter cumulative experience gained during repeated outbreaks of the bubonic plague, which revealed 'learned medicine' in all its nakedness and proved it to be unequivocally helpless in the face of the disease. That was apparently one of the explanations for the increase in the status of magic and for the proliferation of magical writings within the three monotheistic cultures from the time the Black Plague appeared in the second half of the fourteenth century until the end of the Middle Ages.⁴⁶ In any case, an examination of the extant medical

44. Ibid., fol. 191v.

45. *Ibn Sīnā, Al-qānūn fī al-ṭibb* (Cairo, 1877), p. 65; cf. pp. 64, 121-2.

46. Michael Dols clarifies it well: 'In general, the magical beliefs and practices indicate a common need to supplement or to replace inadequate medical knowledge with supernatural devices for protection and relief from plague . . . The use of magic actually reinforces the contention that religious influence was paramount in any attempt to understand the nature of plague and combat its effects: God was ultimately responsible for sending the disease and consequently was the only one who could remove it' (Dols, *The Black Death*, pp. 121-2).

treatises written by Jewish physicians about the plague makes it clear that Eliahu ben Avraham's viewpoint is the most pessimistic of all.⁴⁷

In summary, the importance of Eliahu ben Avraham's treatise on the bubonic plague for historical research is many-faceted: first, he presents additional proof that members of the cultural élite of Spanish Jews continued to study science using sources written in Arabic, and were capable of writing in that language until the Expulsion in 1492; secondly, from the point of view of content, in spite of the fact that the author does not present new ideas about the plague or the treatment of its victims, his critical approach to ancient and contemporary medical literature, and the continuous comparison he makes between the medical practices he learned in Christian Spain and those of the Muslim culture, are extremely important. Finally, this treatise is a supreme example of the transmission of both theoretical and practical scientific medical knowledge, from the Christian West to the Muslim East, thanks to the offices of an enlightened Jew who was expelled from Spain.

47. R. Barkai, *Natural Catastrophe or Divine Punishment: Jewish Physicians Facing the Black Death* (forthcoming).

New Light on the Transmission of Chinese Naval Technology to the Mediterranean World: The Single Rudder

Vassilios Christides

In a recent article I cautiously advanced the view that the single rudder could have been invented by the Chinese and transmitted via the Arabs to the Mediterranean.¹ At that time I emphasized the sparse evidence in my possession, hoping to supplement my initial hypothesis with further concrete arguments. At the Fifth International Conference on Ancient Ship Construction, which took place in Nauplion in August 1993, Lucien Basch flatly denied any such possibility, claiming that the Arabs simply adopted this invention from the crusaders. Although Basch has done an admirable job of collecting and classifying valuable iconographic material on navigation,² it would, nevertheless, be unwise to draw any conclusions based solely on iconography. In order to investigate the possible invention of the single rudder in China and its transmission to the Mediterranean, the historical reality of the period and the literary sources, as well as the iconographic evidence, must be taken into consideration.

The Chinese language and sources do not fall within my scope or field of knowledge; nevertheless, after a thorough examination of the archaeological findings and secondary sources (Chinese sources in translation), I have collected sufficient evidence to venture a reliable conclusion. J. Dars's book on Chinese navigation makes extensive use of the Chinese sources and has substantially advanced our knowledge of this field,³ although the fundamental works by F. Hirth and

1. V. Christides, 'The Transmission of Chinese Maritime Technology by the Arabs to Europe: Greek Fire (Liquid Fire), the Single Stern Rudder, Barrels', *The American Neptune*, 52 (1992), 38-45.
2. L. Basch, *Le musée imaginaire de la marine antique* (Athens, 1987).
3. J. Dars, *La marine chinoise du X^e siècle au XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1992).

J. Needham remain indispensable.⁴ Moreover, some important studies on Chinese navigation and trade which were not used by Dars must be taken into consideration, as for example those of Lin Huadong, D.H. Keith, Zhang Jun-Yan, and others mentioned below.

Shipbuilding and ocean sailing in China date to prehistoric times.⁵ As early as the fourth century BC the king of Yue possessed such a large number of warships that he offered 300 of them as a present to the state of Wei.⁶ The development of mathematics, geography, astronomy, and cartography subsequently contributed to the rapid growth of Chinese maritime technology.⁷

Although the literary descriptions of ships in Chinese sources are imprecise and no nautical treatises exist from the early Chinese period,⁸ artistic evidence and especially finds from shipwreck excavations have allowed us to form a more or less realistic understanding of Chinese ships.⁹ By the eleventh century Chinese ships were flat-bottomed and of varying sizes. The typical vessel was gigantic with numerous masts, square-sterned, and often equipped with an axial rudder, which was occasionally fenestrated.

The single stern rudder was an important invention whose contribution to naval technology has been variously evaluated. Its impact on navigation was exaggerated by Lefèvre des Noëttes and underestimated by L. Casson, while M. Reddé has expressed a more balanced view.¹⁰ Because the single stern rudder appears in more than one form, some misunderstandings have arisen regarding its invention

4. F. Hirth and W.W. Rockhill, *Chao Ju-kua: His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the XIIth and XIIIth Centuries, Entitled 'Chu Fan Chih'* (St Petersburg, 1911). See also J. Needham, 'Science and Civilisation in China', in *Civil Engineering and Nautics*, Vol. IV (Cambridge, 1971).

5. Lin Huadong, 'A Study on the Origin of Sail in China', *Maritime Study*, 2 (1986), 1ff. (trans. Chen Wenjuan).

6. *Ibid.*, 4.

7. See also Lo Jung Pang, 'The Emergence of China as a Sea-Power during the Late Sung and Early Ming Periods', *Far Eastern Quarterly*, 14 (1955), 489-504; D. Twitchett (ed.), *The Cambridge History of China*, Vol. III (1979).

8. For the late Chinese treatises (post-16th century), see Dars, *La marine Chinoise*, pp. 20ff.

9. See, for example, R. Brown, 'Preliminary Report of the Kho Kram Sunken Ship', *Oriental Art*, 21 (1975), 356-70; Wen Wu Editorial Committee, 'The Sung Dynasty Ship Excavated near Ch'üan-Cho Harbor', *Wen Wu*, 10 (1975), 1-34 (Chinese).

10. Lefèvre des Noëttes, *De la marine antique à la marine moderne. La révolution du gouvernail* (Paris, 1935); L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (Princeton, 1973), p. 224, n. 1; M. Reddé, *Mare nostrum* (Rome, 1986), pp. 80ff.

and transmission. Lefèvre des Noëttes, despite his book's shortcomings, made an interesting classification of the various types of stern rudder, which replaced the use of the huge double oars which had previously been the only means of propulsion.

It is significant that one form of the single stern rudder, labelled by L. des Noëttes as 'gouvernail axial à pivot', was unknown to the Graeco-Roman world but did exist in Pharaonic Egypt. Possibly the axial rudder depicted on a Coptic textile (fourth century AD) reflects this Egyptian tradition.¹¹

Though divergent views exist concerning the rudder, there is one common point of agreement: the only rudders in the Graeco-Roman world were lateral, one on each side of the ship.¹² The helmsman stood high on the poop deck to operate the steering oars. It is generally believed that the stern rudder was adopted by Mediterranean shipping due to the influence of Atlantic maritime technology in the early fourteenth century.¹³

Lefèvre des Noëttes presents a large variety of stern rudders, among which the strangest is that handled by a helmsman mounted on a stair. The completion of the technology of the stern rudder, according to his view, was the development of what he calls 'gouvernail moderne à charnier'. He describes it as 'solidement fixé au moyen d'une forte charnière en fer sur l'étambot ou partie retroussée de la quille, muni d'une pole ou safran d'une ampleur en rapport avec la tonnage du navire, aisément maniable à l'aide de la barre. . .'.¹⁴ Lefèvre des Noëttes dates the introduction of this stern rudder to the Mediterranean region to the year 1342, but the iconographic evidence points to a different conclusion: one such rudder is clearly depicted on a miniature showing an Arab merchant ship of 1237 (Fig. 1). It is, therefore, highly plausible that the Arab navigators borrowed this invention from the Chinese, who were using such sophisticated single rudders a few centuries earlier.

The Chinese from early times had a great variety of rudders, as is confirmed by all the relevant sources. The Chinese scholar Zhang

11. L. Basch, 'Navires et bateaux coptes: état des questions en 1991', *Graeco-Arabica*, 5 (1993), Fig. 28.

12. Casson, *Ships*, pp. 224ff; J. Thurneysen, 'Another View of the Ancient Rudder', *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration*, 9 (1980), 3; L.Th. Lehmann, 'The Mystery of the Graeco-Roman Steering Oar', *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration*, 7 (1978), 95-9.

13. A.R. Lewis and T.J. Runyan, *European Naval and Maritime History, 300-1500* (Bloomington, IN, 1985), pp. 74-5.

14. Lefèvre des Noëttes, *De la marine antique*, p. 106.

Zunyan remarked, on the basis of Chinese literary evidence, that the Chinese were using the axial stern rudder by at least the first century BC.¹⁵ I have reached similar conclusions on the basis of the Chinese iconographic evidence. Axial rudders, in a typical example, appear on a relief at Angkor Thom, Cambodia, dated c.1185, but they also had fenestrated rudders hanging well below the keel,¹⁶ and other varieties. J. Dars has shown that the more advanced type of rudder, which he calls 'le gouvernail à safran compensé', corresponding to Lefèvre's 'gouvernail moderne à charnier', did exist at least during the Sung dynasty (AD 960-1279; Northern Sung, 960-1127)¹⁷ (see Fig. 2).

The existence of sophisticated types of rudders in China leads one to the examination of their introduction to the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. There is no doubt that as early as pre-Islamic times a long-distance, trans-Asian trade route connected China with the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf and from there to the Mediterranean. Numerous works have been written about trade links between the Graeco-Roman world and China.¹⁸ That China and Byzantium already had close trade relations at the time of the Tang dynasty (937-975) is well known.¹⁹ However, a number of problems concerning navigation between these two worlds are still open to question. One of them is the perennial problem, which I have discussed elsewhere,²⁰ of the origin of the

15. Zhang Zunyan, *Relations on the Sea between China and West Asia* (Peking, 1986), p. 13 (in Chinese). I would like to thank Mr. Zhang Hushan for the English translation of parts of this book.

16. D.H. Keith and C.J. Buys, 'New Light on Medieval Chinese Seagoing Ship Construction', *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration*, 10 (1981), 123.

17. J. Dars, *La marine chinoise*, pp. 125-6: 'Le gouvernail à safran compensé, relevable par un câble, est fortement assujéti par des puissants aussières maintenant la mèche'.

18. Zhang Jun-yan, 'Relations between China and the Arabs in Early Times', *The Journal of Oman Studies*, 6 (1983), 99-109. See also other references in my article, 'The Transmission of Chinese Maritime Technology', 40, and the relevant notes, to which we can add I.S.A. Huzzaggin, *Arabia and the Far East: Their Commercial and Cultural Relations in Greco-Roman and Irano-Arabian Times* (Cairo, 1942); Chen Zhi-Qiang, 'Preliminary Report of the Chinese Sources on the Byzantine State', *Byzantiaka*, 12 (1992), 249-58; M. Kordosis, 'Apo tēn Kina sto Byzantio. Oi kinezikes pēges', in *Ē Epikoinōnia sto Byzantio*, ed. N.G. Moschonas (Athens, 1993), pp. 551-64.

19. D. Twitchett, *Financial Administration under the T'ang Dynasty*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1970).

20. V. Christides, 'New Light on Navigation and Naval Warfare in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean (6th - 14th Centuries AD)', *Nubica*, 3 (1994), 31ff.

transporting ships; were these mainly Chinese, Indian, Arabic, or Graeco-Roman?

This question is addressed by H. Frost in a trenchant review of the book *Rome and India*, recently published.²¹ Frost correctly does not accept L. Casson's view that the 'Arabian ships were not strong enough and their rig not fitted for the blustery blasts of the south-west monsoon. But the ships of Roman Egypt on both counts. . . .' Frost acidly remarks, 'This is surprising, because (no rigging having been excavated) the statistical preponderance of Roman wrecks in the Mediterranean is often attributed to their general clumsiness'.²²

Maritime trade relations between the Arab-Islamic world and China were considerably more dynamic. Between the ninth and fourteenth centuries we notice that there was strong encouragement by the provincial and local Chinese authorities to invest in foreign trade.²³ Moreover, the Fatimids, who dominated in the Near East from 909 to 1171, supported active commercial ties between India and China and the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.²⁴ Of special interest is the description of the various types of Chinese ships by the fourteenth-century Arab writer Ibn Baṭṭūṭah. He reports that soldiers embarked every big Chinese ship and that some of them were in charge of launching liquid fire.²⁵ In fact, the Chinese used many types of 'Greek fire', which were transmitted to the Arabs, in particular at the time of the Fatimids.²⁶

It is, therefore, impossible to accept Basch's odd remark, delivered at the Fifth International Conference on Ancient Ship Construction (1993), that the Arabs closed their eyes to the sophisticated Chinese ships that crossed the Indian Ocean alongside their own, and waited until the crusades to adopt the invention of the single rudder from the West.

21. V. Begley and R. Daniel de Puma (eds.), *Rome and India: The Ancient Sea Trade* (Madison, WI, 1991).

22. H. Frost, review of *Rome and India*, in *Mariner's Mirror*, 80 (1994), 354-6.

23. Zhang Zunyan, *Relations*, pp. 48ff.

24. B. Lewis, 'Fatimids and the Route to India', *Iktisāt* (Istanbul University) (1950), 355-66; Y. Lev, *State and Society in Fatimid Egypt* (Leiden, 1991), pp. 105ff.

25. C. Defrémery and B.R. Sanguinetti, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, Vol. 4 (Paris, 1922), p. 92: 'There are among them (the fighters) archers and those equipped with shields and those who launch the *naft*'. Here Ibn Baṭṭūṭa does not use the typical term for the launchers of fire who in Arabic sources are usually called *naffatūn*. See also V. Christides, 'Two Parallel Naval Guides of the Tenth Century: Qudāma's Document and Leo IV's Naumachica: A Study on Byzantine and Moslem Naval Preparedness', *Graeco-Arabica*, 1 (1982), 86.

26. Christides, s.v. 'Naft', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn. (1992), p. 885.

FIG. 1

The Harīrī ship of the Red Sea. Ar. MS 5847, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris. Simplified sketch by D. Nicolle in 'Shipping in Islamic Art: Seventh through Sixteenth Century AD', *The American Neptune*, 49, 3 (1989). Fig. 24a.

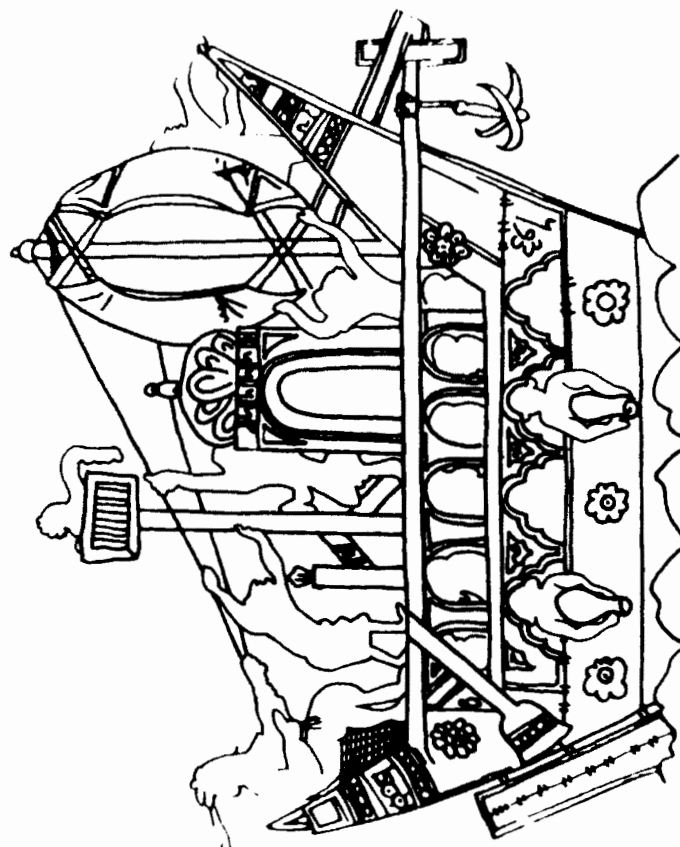
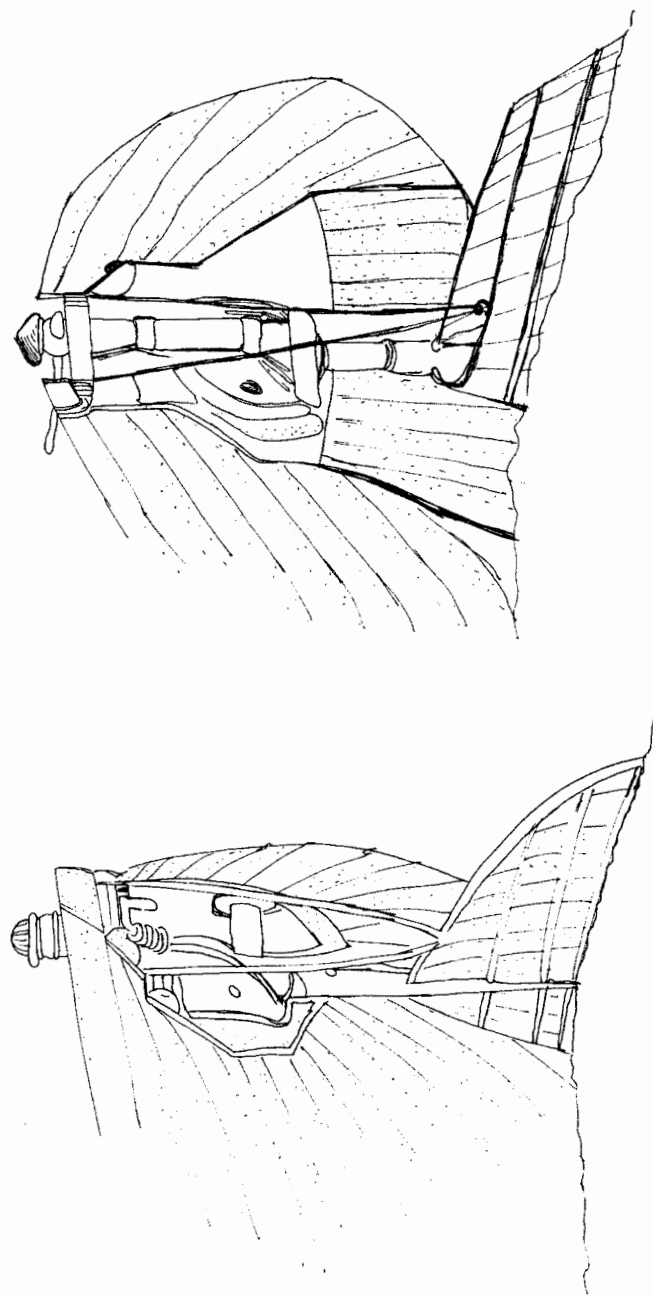


FIG. 2
Chinese single rudder. Sung Dynasty (AD 960-1279; Northern Sung, 960-1127). Simplified sketches by P. Angelidis
from J. Dars, *La marine chinoise du X^e au XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1992), p. 124.



Law and Custom in the Latin East: *Les Letres dou Sepulcre*

Peter W. Edbury

Both John of Ibelin count of Jaffa and Philip of Novara include accounts of the 'Letters of the Sepulchre' in their treatises on Latin Syrian legal institutions and the workings of the High Court. In his version of the story, Philip of Novara began by explaining that there was a lot of uncertainty about the enacted law, or *assises*, in the Kingdom of Jerusalem; he then continues:

Things could be done much better and settled far more satisfactorily in the Kingdom of Jerusalem before the land was lost. For all the *assises* and good usages and good customs, that is to say any usage of great authority, were written down and kept in the Holy Sepulchre, and people called them the 'Letters of the Sepulchre' because each *assise* and usage and custom was written out separately on a large and splendid piece of parchment (*en un grant parchement franchois*). And also there were the usages and *assises* relating to the *cour des bourgeois* along with those of the High Court. And each piece of parchment bore the seal and sign manual of the king and the patriarch and also of the viscount of Jerusalem. And they were all written out in large ornate letters, and the initial letters were illuminated in gold and all the rubrics were in red. The usages and the customs which were put into writing came into being after much discussion, deliberation, enquiry and thought. For after the first *assises* were made at the conquest of the land, it often happened that when a large number of wise men arrived on pilgrimage the king and the patriarch together with the leading pilgrims and the vassals of the kingdom made new *assises*, usages, and customs, and in

An earlier version of this paper was read at the conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East held at Syracuse in 1991.

some cases, if it was thought beneficial, they abrogated some of the earlier ones. And if any *assise* was made with good intent but some people out of malicious subtlety devised a trick whereby it could be circumvented, the trick would be countered and an amendment brought in to stop it. There were many cases which touched on the jurisdiction of the Church, and so the Church of Jerusalem made an agreement that, if certain cases came before it, it would not invoke the *decretum*, decretals, or laws but would judge according to the usages and *assises* of the land. And the king and his men were bound to the Church in many matters, much to their common advantage. And whenever it happened that there was an argument in the court concerning an *assise* or usage, so that it was necessary to see the documents, the chest wherein they were kept could be opened by the hands (*a mains*) of nine people: the king or one of his leading men acting on his behalf; two of his liege men; the patriarch or the prior of Sepulchre in his stead; two of his canons; and the viscount of Jerusalem and two *jurés* of the *cour des bourgeois*. And all this I have heard recounted by many who had seen it before the 'Letters' were lost, and from many others who knew all about it, some of whom were those who had had charge of the 'Letters' at some time. And all was lost when Saladin took Jerusalem, and never again was an *assise*, usage, or custom written down. . . .¹

The point of the story is that after 1187 people in the East had no way of establishing precisely what royal legislation had decreed and so were incapable of telling which elements in law and court procedure had come into being as the result of a deliberate expression of royal will as enshrined in an *assise*, and which were simply a matter of custom and precedent; in any case, the distinction between enacted law and customary law had always been blurred.

It has to be remembered that Philip of Novara and John of Ibelin were writing in the 1250s or 1260s, 70 years after Saladin's conquests. Furthermore, the tale they tell and the wording of their versions of the story are close, and it is my belief that John had adapted the material he found in Philip's work for his own use. In other words, the two accounts are not independent of each other. Indeed, in the original version of his

1. Philip of Novara, 'Livre de Philippe de Navarre', *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades* (hereafter *RHC*), *Lois*, Vol. I, pp. 521-2, cf. p. 536; John of Ibelin, 'Livre de Jean d'Ibelin', in *RHC*, *Lois*, Vol. I, pp. 25-6.

treatise, John had made no mention of the 'Letters' at all; the story only appears in a later revision he made when he incorporated a number of passages from Philip's work into his own.² But the account of the 'Letters of the Sepulchre' that these two authors give has in the main been accepted by modern historians. Among those to have given it credence was the father of modern research into Latin Syrian legal literature, Maurice Grandclaude, and he has been followed by, among others, John La Monte, Jean Richard, Joshua Prawer, and Jonathan Riley-Smith.³ So far as I am aware, in recent years only Hans Mayer has expressed doubts about its authenticity.⁴ As I shall now explain, my own view is that the 'Letters of the Sepulchre' never existed and that Philip of Novara's story was a piece of legal fiction concocted in the mid-thirteenth century in response to a particular problem then facing the ruling clique in the Latin kingdom.

My chief objection to the story of the 'Letters' is simply that it does not make sense. The documents were supposedly being kept in a public place — indeed in a place of the utmost significance in the life of the kingdom — and yet, as described by Philip of Novara and John of Ibelin, they were not a public archive. The fact that they were kept heavily under lock and key meant that it was not a question of having the laws of the kingdom available for consultation so that litigants could examine the actual texts of the *assises* when preparing their cases. The chest in which the 'Letters' were kept would be opened when and if the court deemed it necessary after litigation had begun,

2. The passage concerned is not found in the two manuscripts which represent the earliest recension: Oxford: Bodleian Library: Ms Selden Supra 69, fol. 3r, col. 1; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms fr. 19025, fol. 3v, col. 2 (= var. 'C': see John of Ibelin, p. 25, n. 42). The printed edition in effect gives the revised version. See M. Grandclaude, 'Classement sommaire des manuscrits des principaux livres des assises de Jérusalem', *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, ser. 4, 5 (1926), 440-50, 455-62.
3. M. Grandclaude, 'Liste d'assises remontant au premier royaume de Jérusalem (1099-1187)', *Mélanges Paul Fournier* (Paris, 1929), pp. 329-30; J.L. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1100 to 1291* (Cambridge, MA, 1932), p. 166; id., 'Three Questions concerning the Assises de Jerusalem', *Byzantina-Metabyzantina*, 1 (1945), 204-8; J. Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (London, 1972), p. 122; id., *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 10, 354, 359; J. Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, trans. J. Shirley (Amsterdam-New York-Oxford, 1979), pp. 67-8, 252, 409; J. Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174-1277* (London, 1973), p. 133.
4. H.E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. J. Gillingham, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1988), p. 161. For earlier sceptics, see La Monte, 'Three questions', 205.

and the opening of the chest had to be in the presence of nine specified individuals. But if the archive could only be consulted under the auspices of the court, then why was it not kept in the court itself? Furthermore, why go to all the trouble of assembling the nine representatives and adjourning to the Holy Sepulchre to carry out an inspection of the texts of laws which themselves had originally been promulgated in the High Court or at assemblies at which the members of the High Court were joined by clergy, visiting pilgrims, and other notables? We may wonder why, if the 'Letters' had proved so useful in the decades before Saladin's conquests, new legislation after 1187 was not officially preserved, and also why there was no serious attempt at a reconstruction of what had been lost. King Aimery (1197-1205) is said to have tried to get Ralph of Tiberias to record what he knew of the laws and customs, but Ralph had demurred,⁵ and it would seem that the matter was thereupon allowed to drop. We may also wonder what actually happened to the 'Letters'. Jerusalem was not sacked in 1187; if the 'Letters' were really as important as all that, why were they not salvaged at the time of the surrender or retrieved subsequently?

Would the twelfth-century kings of Jerusalem have kept a record of their legislation in the way Philip of Novara described? In the West Frederick Barbarossa and Roger II of Sicily and his heirs did preserve legislative codes, but their counterparts in France and England seem not have done so. What we know of the surviving texts of legislation from the Kingdom of Jerusalem is not very helpful in this respect. In January 1120 an assembly consisting of King Baldwin II, the patriarch of Jerusalem, and the leading clergy and laity met at Nablus and issued a series of 25 decrees. Most, though not all, were concerned directly with moral or ecclesiastical questions. The Nablus decrees were certainly important. William of Tyre informs us that in his day (1170s – early 1180s) they were readily available in the archives of many churches, and indeed the surviving text is derived from the copy made for use in the church at Sidon. In this instance, therefore, it would seem that the overwhelmingly ecclesiastical nature of the decrees meant that the bishops acquired copies for their own use; whether there was an 'official' copy lodged in a chest in the Holy Sepulchre is not stated anywhere.⁶ William himself preserves the text of the taxation decree of

5. Philip of Novara, p. 523. Cf. John of Ibelin, p. 430.

6. *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. G. Mansi, Vol. 21, new edn. (Paris, 1767), pp. 261-6; William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens (Turnhout, 1986), pp. 563-4. See H.E. Mayer, 'The Concordat of Nablus', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 33 (1982), 531-43.

1183, agreed in an assembly comprising the nobles, clergy, and people, but here again there is no allusion to any official copy being preserved for posterity. As chancellor of the kingdom William probably had played a part in its drafting, and in any case, as one of the collectors, he would have had his own copy.⁷ It may be worth noting in passing that, although in his history William made considerable use of records from his archiepiscopal archive, he gives no indication that, although he held the office of chancellor, he had access to any collection of royal records.

There are other grounds for suggesting that in matters of secular law, the leaders of lay society preferred to rely on memory rather than on written record. In 1251 the leading figures in the East were still arguing as to whether the High Court should keep records of its day-to-day judicial business; in England, by comparison, plea rolls are extant from as early as 1194. However, as Michael Clanchy has explained, it was only in the thirteenth century, with its much greater emphasis on written title and written authority, that in England reliance on the collective memory of custom and practice began to count for less.⁸ Perhaps significantly nothing came of the 1251 discussions: justice for litigants in the High Court remained dependent on what those vassals who took the trouble to attend could recollect from previous hearings.⁹

Philip of Novara's account, however, does provide circumstantial evidence which might be thought to argue for the authenticity of the 'Letters'. On closer inspection, however, many details in his story raise problems of their own. For example, would kings of Jerusalem have allowed the patriarchs and the viscounts to join in affixing their seals to the texts of the laws in what seems to have been in effect royal letters-patent? In any case the description of the documents accords ill with twelfth-century chancery practice; they are made to sound far more like folios from the illuminated manuscripts being produced in Acre in the later thirteenth century.¹⁰ The idea that the Courts Christian would have been prepared to suspend the operation of canon law in favour of the secular law of Jerusalem in certain circumstances sounds also unlikely. Philip goes on to assert that he knew about the 'Letters' from people

7. William of Tyre, pp. 1044-6.

8. M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1306* (London, 1979).

9. 'Abrégé du Livre des Assises de la Cour des Bourgeois', *RHC, Lois*, Vol. II, pp. 246-50; Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, pp. 133-4.

10. For Acre manuscripts, see J. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275-1291* (Princeton, 1976), pp. 21 *passim*.

whose memories stretched back to before 1187 and who had seen them. Here we are up against a different problem: much of what Philip wrote about himself in his history of the war with the Hohenstaufen would seem to have been exaggerated and fanciful;¹¹ are we to take this claim too with a pinch of salt? I should be more confident about accepting what Philip has to say about his informants if there was evidence for the existence of the 'Letters' from nearer 1187. The provision for inspecting the contents of the chest is another element in the story that invites scepticism. Unfortunately Philip's wording leaves it uncertain as to whether the chest had nine locks to which each of the listed individuals had a key or simply whether all nine had to be present when it was opened. Nine locks does seem rather excessive. On the other hand, the keeping of valuables or muniments in chests with more than one lock was common in the Middle Ages. For example, Ernoul tells us that in the mid-1180s the royal regalia kept at the Holy Sepulchre was in a chest with at least two keys with separate key-holders; maybe it was a memory of this arrangement that helped provide the inspiration for the story of the 'Letters'.¹²

Twelfth-century kings of Jerusalem certainly legislated on a wide range of topics.¹³ But did they preserve their enactments in a locked chest in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the manner described? If I am right, and the 'Letters of the Sepulchre' were no more than a myth, the question must then be faced as to why Philip of Novara, and, after him, John of Ibelin should have felt the need to perpetrate it. Partly, I suspect, the answer lies in the same change of atmosphere that Clanchy has described with reference to England: custom and precedent were no longer held to be sufficient; what was wanted was documented authority, and if there was no documented authority then its absence had to be explained. But it is possible to offer a hypothesis which would furnish a much more specific context for the emergence of this myth.

11. P.W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191-1374* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 48-9, 54, 56-7, 70. Cf. P. Jackson, 'The End of Hohenstaufen Rule in Syria', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 59 (1986), 22-3.

12. M.R. Morgan (ed.), *La continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184-1197)* (Paris, 1982), pp. 32-3. Cf. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy*, pp. 181-2. For instructions that chests with three locks be placed in churches to receive money for crusading purposes, see S. Schein, *Fidelis Crucis: The Papacy, the West and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1274-1314* (Oxford, 1991), p. 39.

13. Grandclaude, 'Liste d'assises', *passim*; Richard, *Latin Kingdom*, pp. 68-71, 298, n. 20.

In the second quarter of the thirteenth century the leaders of Latin Syrian society had had to close ranks to defend their interests against the emperor Frederick II. As is well known, the Ibelins led the anti-imperial party, and Philip of Novara was one of those who came to prominence at this period under their patronage. In their struggle against the Hohenstaufen the Frankish nobles sought to justify their actions, notably by means of a tendentious re-interpretation of a twelfth-century law, the *Assise sur la ligece*, and they also persistently manipulated the principles governing the regency of the kingdom to suit their own interests.¹⁴ They based their position on an appeal to legal custom and precedent, and some of their number, notably Philip of Novara and John of Ibelin, were recognized as experts in this subject. But their expertise and the bases on which their party's behaviour in the political arena had been set came to be challenged from an entirely different direction. A steady influx of immigrant nobles and knights from France had always served to augment the ranks of the local aristocracy. For example, early in the thirteenth century the Montbéliard and Brienne families had made their mark. Philip of Montfort, already a close kinsman of the Ibelins, had arrived with the crusading army led by Thibaut of Champagne in 1239, and at around the same time lesser but significant figures such as Peter of Avallon and James Vidal gained an entrée into the Latin Syrian nobility.¹⁵ This French element was reinforced during the sojourn of King Louis IX and his crusaders in the East between 1248 and 1254. Several of his entourage remained after his departure. Thus John of Valenciennes was already lord of Haifa by 1257 and played a major role in the politics of the Latin East until the mid-1260s.¹⁶ Geoffrey of Sergines, another of Louis's intimates during his crusade, stayed in the East until his death in 1269 as the commander of the permanent garrison the king had founded in Acre, and he rose to become seneschal of the kingdom and *bailli*. Two other veterans of Louis's crusade, Oliver of Termes, who succeeded Geoffrey as commander of the

14. Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, Ch. 7-8 *passim*.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 37, and n. 103 (p. 247). For Peter of Avallon, see also John of Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly (Paris, 1874), Chs. 41, 84.

16. Joinville, Chs. 91, 92, 112; *Regesta Regni Hierosolomytani* (hereafter *RRH*), compiled by R. Röhrich (Innsbruck, 1893-1904), Nos. 1259, 1269, 1271, 1297a, 1338 and n. 2.

French garrison, and Erard of Valery, also made names for themselves in the East in the 1260s.¹⁷

It is not at all clear whether the Ibelins perceived this French element in Latin Syria as a threat to their own political ascendancy. But the presence of these people did stimulate a challenge to the interpretation of the customary laws as administered in the High Court. In the *bailliage* disputes of the mid-1260s, Hugh of Brienne argued that since those who had established the usages of the kingdom in the aftermath of the First Crusade were French, the custom of the Kingdom of Jerusalem ought to conform with that of France and, where Jerusalemite custom differed from French custom, French custom should prevail.¹⁸ Similar sentiments were expressed a few years later by James of Ibelin in a speech denying the liability of Cypriot knights to answer feudal summons to service in Palestine.¹⁹ It was a clever argument, and one which could be brought into play whenever a litigant believed that French custom might bolster his chances of winning his case and which could be quietly forgotten if not. Although it failed to carry the day in either of the two instances in which we know that it was employed, the argument could well have unsettled the Latin Syrian jurists; there were enough people of French birth who were members of the High Court of Jerusalem and who would have been familiar with the contrasting customs of their homeland.

So how was the conflict of laws to be explained? People in the thirteenth century had little appreciation of the ways in which custom was continually evolving with the constant establishment of fresh precedents, but they did know that conscious acts of legislation had the effect of superseding existing practices. As already noted, the problem was that they could not always distinguish those elements in the law that had come into being as the result of an *assise* and those that were simply a matter of usage. John of Ibelin and Philip of Novara both had to admit that ignorance of the *assises* meant that in practice no

17. Joinville, Chs. 2, 37, 59, 60, 62, 72, 74, 86, 111, 112, 123; *RRH*, Nos. 1221, 1269, 1291a, 1297a, 1298, 1317c, 1318, 1322, 1324-5, 1332a, 1338-9, 1343-4, 1347-8, 1350, 1352, 1364; J. Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?* (London, 1977), pp. 65-70; Richard, *Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 377-9; C.J. Marshall, 'The French Regiment in the Latin East, 1254-91', *Journal of Medieval History*, 15 (1989), 302-4.

18. P.W. Edbury, 'The Disputed Regency of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1264/6 and 1268', *Camden Miscellany*, 27 (= Camden Society, 4th ser., Vol. 22, 1979), 25, 31, 37, 40-41, cf. 28, 34, 38.

19. 'Document relatif au service militaire', *RHC, Lois*, Vol. II, p. 431.

distinction could be made between the two categories.²⁰ The rejoinder to an appeal to French custom was that the rulers of Jerusalem had issued their own laws. But where were these laws? Why could the Latin Syrian jurists not produce them? The answer was to insist that a whole corpus of legislation had indeed existed and moreover that it had been hallowed by being kept within the sacred precincts of the Holy Sepulchre; since 1187, however, it had been lost for ever.

20. Philip of Novara, p. 521; John of Ibelin, pp. 182-3.

Crusader Art in the Twelfth Century: Reflections on Christian Multiculturalism in the Levant

Jaroslav Folda

All scholars who work on the history of the crusades and the Frankish East owe a substantial debt to David Jacoby for his many ground-breaking studies. His wide-ranging research on the Mediterranean world in the period between the eleventh and the sixteenth centuries, when diverse cultures met and effected exchanges in the Levant, suggested that some discussion of the role which twelfth-century crusader art played in these developments would be an appropriate way to contribute to this volume in his honour.

When Urban II gave his famous speech at Clermont on 27 November 1095, setting the First Crusade in motion, prominent among the atrocities he articulated was the following, as recounted by Baldric of Dol:

Audivimus, fratres dilectissimi, et audistis, quod sine profundis singultibus retractare nequaquam possumus, quantis calamitatibus, quantis incommoditatibus, quam diris contritionibus, in Jerusalem et in Antiochia et in ceteris Orientalis plagae civitatibus, Christiani, fratres nostri, membra Christi, flagellantur, opprimuntur, injuriuntur.¹

1. 'We have heard, most beloved brethren, and you have heard what we cannot recount without deep sorrow — how, with great hurt and dire sufferings our Christian brothers, members in Christ, are scourged, oppressed, and injured in Jerusalem, in Antioch, and the other cities of the East' (Baldric of Dol, *Historia de peregrinatione Jerosolimitana*, *Regestes des Lois*, in *Recueil des historiens des croisades*, 16 vols. (Paris, 1841-1906) (hereafter *RHC*): *Occ.*, Vol. IV (Paris, 1879), p. 12; id., *The First Crusade*, ed. E. Peters (Philadelphia, 1971), p. 6.

Urban's references to the oppressed brethren in the East as reported by Baldric, and the other sources of the Council at Clermont, were generic and inclusive. When the Christians of the East were specified at all at this point, they were mostly referred to as Greeks. The experience of the First Crusade and the subsequent settlement of the Holy Land would dramatically change this perception. Not only would the crusaders themselves become more aware of their diverse origins in Europe, but also they would gradually become more knowledgeable about the multiplicity of Christian sects in the East.¹

Three famous texts articulate and to some extent define the multicultural experience of the crusaders in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem between 1099 and 1187. Firstly, Raymond d'Aguilers wrote about the coinage which the participants in the First Crusade brought with them on the expedition to Jerusalem: 'Erat haec nostra moneta: Pictavini, Cartenses, Manses, Luccenses, Valanzani, Melgorienses et duo Pogesi pro uno istorum.'² This text names the many different French and Italian currencies in use on the First Crusade, but more than that it highlights the diversity of regions from which the men and their coinage originated. Once the armies of the First Crusade had come together outside Constantinople, these diverse groups could begin to interact en route to Jerusalem.

Second, in response to an eclipse of the sun on 11 August 1124, Fulcher of Chartres wrote the following commentary on the orientalization of the Franks:

Noli ergo mirari quum signa vides in coelis, quia nihilominus operatur Deus et in terris. . . . Considera, quaeso, et mente recogita, quomodo tempore in nostro transvertit Deus Occidentem in Orientem. Nam qui fuimus occidentales, nunc facti sumus orientales. Qui fuit Romanus aut Francus, hac in terra factus est Galilaeus, aut Palaestinus. Qui fuit Remensis aut Carnotensis, nunc efficitur Tyrius vel Antiochenus. Jam obliti sumus nativitatis nostrae loca; jam nobis pluribus vel sunt ignota, vel etiam inaudita. Hic jam possidet domos proprias et familias quasi jure paterno et haereditario, ille vero jam duxit

2. 'Our money in circulation included the billon deniers of Poitou, of Chartres, of Le Mans, of Lucca, of Valence, of Melgueil, and of Le Puy, the last named being two for one of the others.' Raymond of Aguilers, Ch. 16, *Historia Francorum*, *RHC: Occ.*, Vol. III (Paris, 1866), p. 278; id., *Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem*, trans. J.H. and L.L. Hill (Philadelphia, 1968), p. 91. Raymond d'Aguilers finished writing his *Historia* by the end of 1099.

uxorem non tantum compatriotam, sed et Syram aut Armenam et interdum Sarracenam, baptismi autem gratiam adeptam. Alius habet apud se tam socerum quam nurum, seu generum sive privignum, necne vitricum. Nec deest huic nepos, seu pronepos. Hic potitur vineis, ille vero culturis. Diversarum linguarum coutitur alternatim eloquio et obsequio alteruter. Lingua diversa jam communis facta utrique nationi fit nota, et jungit fides quibus est ignota progenies. . . . Qui erat alienigena, nunc est quasi indigena, et qui inquilinus est, utique incola factus.³

Quite apart from the exhortatory nature of the complete passage from which this text is taken, urging as it does Western Europeans to come and settle in the crusader states in the late 1120s, in its words we can see clearly some of the cultural dynamics which had begun to link the first generation crusaders with the Levantine territory they had conquered. Not only have Western Europeans put down roots in the Near East, but they also intermarried and had extended families, and they began to identify with their land in the East. They have also learned new languages, and both a nascent 'lingua franca' of sorts and a common Christian faith served to link if not unite the diverse groups which had come together in the crusader states.

3. 'Therefore do not marvel when you see signs in the heavens because God works miracles there as he does on earth. . . . Consider, I pray, and reflect how in our time God has transformed the Occident into the Orient. For we who were Occidentals have now become Orientals. He who was a Roman or a Frank has in this land been made into a Galilean or a Palestinian. He who was of Rheims or Chartres has now become a citizen of Tyre or Antioch. We have already forgotten the places of our birth; already these are unknown to many of us or not mentioned any more. Some already possess homes or households by inheritance. Some have taken wives not only of their own people but Syrians or Armenians or even Saracens who have obtained the grace of baptism. One has his father-in-law as well as his daughter-in-law living with him, or his own child if not his step-son or step-father. Out here there are grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Some tend vineyards, others till fields. People use the eloquence and idioms of diverse languages in conversing back and forth. Words of different languages have become common property known to each nationality, and mutual faith unites those who are ignorant of their descent. . . . He who was born a stranger is now as one born here; he who was born an alien has become a native'. Fulcher of Chartres, Bk. 3, Ch. 37, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, RHC: Occ., Vol. III (Paris, 1866), p. 468; id., ed. H. Hagenmeyer, pp. 749-52; id., *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127*, trans. F.R. Ryan (New York, 1973), pp. 271-2.

Third, the German priest and pilgrim, John of Würzburg, writing about 1170, enumerated some of the people whose chapels and churches he encountered in Jerusalem:

Sic sic describendo venerabilia loca in sancta civitate Iherusalem, incipiendo ab aeclesia Sancti Sepulchri, circumeundo per Portam David usque ad eandem reversi sumus, plures omittendo capellas et inferiores aeclesias, quas habent ibi diversarum nationum et linguarum homines. Sunt namque ibi Greci, Latini, Alemanni, Ungari, Scoti, Navarri, Britanni, Anglici, Rutheni, Boemi, Gorgiani, Armeni, Suriani, Iacobitae, Syri, Nestoriani, Indi, Egiptii, Cepthi, Capheturici, Maroni et alii quam plures, quos longum esset enumerare, sed in his finem huius opusculi faciemus. Amen.⁴

In this passage John of Würzburg inventories the remarkably cosmopolitan Christian presence in Jerusalem — and it is striking that he begins his list with the Greeks even though the Syrians were probably the most numerous Orthodox Christians at this auspicious moment during the reign of King Amaury I. It is clear from what he says in 1170 that even European visitors had begun to recognize that Jerusalem included diverse Christian sects of the Near East and the Latin West.

4. 'Thus I have finished describing the Holy Places in the Holy City Jerusalem. I started with the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and then I went round to the Gate of David and returned to it again. I omitted a great many chapels and churches of minor interest, which hold people of every race and tongue. For there are Greeks [Bulgars], Latins, Germans, Hungarians, Scots, people of Navarre, Britons, Angles [Franks], Ruthenians, Bohemians, Georgians, Armenians, Syrians, Jacobites [Syri], Nestorians, Indians, Egyptians, Copts, Capheturici, Maronites and many others, which it would be a long task to list. But in these men we make an end to our book. Amen'. See John of Würzburg, in *Peregrinationes Tres: Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodoricus*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, CXXXIX (Turnholt, 1994), pp. 137-8; J. Wilkinson (ed. and trans.), *Jerusalem Pilgrimage: 1099-1185* (London, 1988), p. 273. Notice that the new critical edition of this text by Huygens differs in its list of peoples from the older Tobler edition translated by Wilkinson. The earliest most reliable manuscript (T) does not mention the Bulgars or the Franks, but it does include both the 'Suriani' and the 'Syri', which both appear to refer to the Syrians, the former a term derived from the Arabic, the latter a Latin term. It is unclear why both terms are used here, because 'Suriani' is the normal term for the Syrian Orthodox, and 'Iacobitae' for the Syrian Jacobites. See B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States* (London, 1980).

These texts provide a kind of paradigm for assessing what we might call the multicultural experience and awareness of the crusaders, en route to and in the Holy Land itself. At first, in 1099, they corporately recognize their 'Western Europeaness' and identify their regional differences, and it is important to note that the coinage reflects the fact that those who took the cross came from various areas in both France and Italy.

By the 1120s, Fulcher still distinguishes between transalpine and cisalpine origins for the crusader settlers in discussing their acclimation and acculturation in new circumstances in the Levant. In addition to that however, he specifies certain people between whom intermarriage is taking place: Syrians, Armenians, and even converted Muslims are involved; Greeks are conspicuously absent. He also mentions diverse languages which the settlers are starting to learn, but he does not name them individually.

When John of Würzburg writes c.1170, he gives us a much more detailed account of the diversity of Christian peoples in Jerusalem. Not only does he break down the Europeans into ten groups, but also there are the various Orthodox Churches, most notably the Greeks and the Syrians, and the Eastern Christians from separated Churches, in other words those who did not hold Orthodox beliefs and were not in communion with Rome at that time, such as the Armenians, the Copts, the Jacobites, the Maronites, and the Nestorians.⁵

With these documents in mind, what evidence can we find in the art of the crusaders in the Holy Land and texts associated with this art that illuminates Christian multiculturalism in the Latin Kingdom before 1187? What does this evidence indicate about the development of Christian multiculturalism in the Latin Kingdom and what were some of its main characteristics?

After the crusaders conquered Antioch on 3 June 1098, and then took Jerusalem on 15 July 1099, one of their basic policies was to replace Orthodox patriarchs, bishops, and other important ecclesiastics with Latin churchmen. One of the initial results of this policy was that oriental Christian clergy were expelled from the major holy sites for a time. This posture appears to have derived from the embattled position

5. The list of John of Würzburg has been commented on by Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, p. 209 and n. 1, and Chs. 7 and 8 *passim*. On the vexed question of who the 'Capheturici' mentioned in his list may be, Hamilton concludes, following A.D.V. den Brincken, that they were not Ethiopians or Chalcedonians, despite what their position in the list might suggest.

of the Franks during and immediately after the First Crusade when, at best, Eastern Christians were regarded as difficult to understand, and at worst they were viewed as schismatics or heretics.⁶ In these initial circumstances, crusader multiculturalism was largely Eurocentric and manifested internally, within the ranks of Frankish settlers. But this situation changed rapidly.

As the Franks assumed the reins of government in the newly established crusader states, their interaction with the indigenous peoples began to evolve. Although the money which the crusaders brought with them from Europe continued to circulate, the majority of early coinage struck in the crusader states drew on local examples, both Christian and Muslim: mainly Byzantine sources for the coppers of Antioch and Edessa, Muslim for the Jerusalem *bezants*; only Tripoli initially used primarily French type *deniers*.⁷ This coinage demonstrated how the settlers interacted with the indigenous population in terms of monetary policy and the local market. The crusaders mostly chose to address their subject peoples in coinage that would be familiar to them in type and imagery; yet initially the Franks retained a corporate 'otherness' in relation to their own identity as Western Europeans.

By the second decade of settlement, King Baldwin was forced to face the reality of underpopulation in the Latin Kingdom, in particular in Jerusalem. According to William of Tyre, to meet this need, in 1115-18 Baldwin I developed a policy of resettling 'Syrians' in the Holy City.⁸ By 'Syrians' here we should understand local Christians who were mostly Syrian Orthodox (Melchites), but may have included some Jacobites, whose native language was Arabic, but whose liturgical

6. This is clearly stated in a letter which the leaders of the First Crusade sent to the Pope in September 1198: '... For we have beaten the Turks and the heathen, but we do not know how to defeat the heretics, the Greeks and Armenians and Syrian Jacobites'. Cited by Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, p. 9.
7. See D.M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East* (London, 1983), pp. 7-14; J. Porteous, 'Crusader Coinage with Greek or Latin Inscriptions', in K.M. Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. 6, ed. H.W. Hazard and N.P. Zacour (Madison - London, 1989), pp. 354-77, 388-413; M. Bates and D.M. Metcalf, 'Crusader Coinage with Arabic Inscriptions', in *ibid.*, pp. 439-57, and A.G. Malloy *et al.*, in A.G. Berman (ed.), *Coins of the Crusader States* (South Salem, NY, 1994), pp. 159-60, 167, 180-84, 198-201, 237-46.
8. William of Tyre, Bk. 11, Ch. 27: Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi, *Chronicon*, R.B.C. Huygens, (ed.), *Corpus Christianorum*, Vol. LXIII (Turnhout, 1986), pp. 535-6. Joshua Praver discussed this resettlement in *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 92-5.

languages were Syriac and Greek.⁹ This resettlement signified a major change in the crusader policy of dealing with the local Christians. Not only were these people welcomed to the Holy City, but they were also reintroduced to the holy places and eventually would take their place in the laws of the Kingdom.¹⁰ It is also notable that when Baldwin I died in 1118, Fulcher of Chartres reported that besides the Franks, Syrians and even Saracens grieved for him.¹¹ No indigenous Christians or Muslims are said to have mourned for Godefroy de Bouillon when he died in 1100.

In early sources the Greek Orthodox are not mentioned in the same terms as the Syrians. Despite their expulsion from the holy sites and episcopal sees to be replaced by Latin clergy, however, they were firmly ensconced in a variety of important monasteries within the borders of the Latin Kingdom, and Greeks must have also become important in the holy places by the 1130s, judging from crusader painting at Bethlehem. When the column paintings appear in the Church of the Nativity, from 1130 on, we find a significant development in the earliest examples. Whereas the first work, an icon of the Virgin and Child *Glykophilousa*, dated 1130, has exclusively Latin inscriptions despite its Italo-Byzantine style and iconography, subsequent icons are different.¹² For example, the icon of Elijah was apparently painted in the mid-1130s, and the inscriptions are bi-lingual, in Latin and Greek.¹³

The introduction of the bi-lingual inscriptions appears to parallel a significant change in the status of the Church of the Nativity under crusader control. Whereas it had been the coronation church for

9. The indispensable studies of the indigenous Christians in the Frankish East in the twelfth century are the following: J. Prawer, 'Social Classes in the Crusader States: The "Minorities"', in Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. 5, ed. N.P. Zacour and H.W. Hazard (Madison – London, 1985), pp. 59-115, esp. 65-6; Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, pp. 159-211, who points out that the majority of Syrians in the Latin Kingdom were Orthodox; most of the Jacobites were in Antioch and Edessa (pp. 159-60, 190); G. Every, 'Syrian Christians in Palestine in the Early Middle Ages', *Eastern Churches Quarterly*, 6 (1945-46), 363-72, and id., 'Syrian Christians in Jerusalem, 1183-1283', *Eastern Churches Quarterly*, 7 (1947), 46-54. See also the important study of Lucy-Anne Hunt, cited in n. 22 below.

10. J. Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (London, 1972), pp. 153-6.

11. Fulcher of Chartres, Bk. 2, Ch. 44, *Historia, RHC: Occ.*, Vol. III, p. 436.

12. G. Kühnel, *Wall Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Berlin, 1988), pp. 15-22.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-6.

Baldwin I (1100) and Baldwin II (1118), Fulk was crowned with his queen Melisende in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem in 1131.

Thus at the point where the Church of the Nativity reverts to its primary role as a major pilgrimage site, the introduction of Greek with the Latin inscriptions seem to indicate enhanced recognition of an Orthodox presence and explicit recognition of their access to this holy place, as pilgrims and local worshippers, and possibly as local clergy.

In the following years in Bethlehem, in the period of the 1140s and 1150s, column paintings continue to carry primarily bi-lingual Greek and Latin inscriptions. For example, we have the images of St Stephen, St Cataldus, St Macarius and St Onuphrius.¹⁴ There are few images on the columns with exclusively Latin inscriptions until later in the second half of the century, and none with exclusively Greek inscriptions.

These choices and the importance they indicate of an Orthodox presence in Bethlehem are set in bold relief when we contrast the bi-lingual inscriptions with those monuments that carry exclusively Latin public inscriptions in Jerusalem in the 1140s. After the Templum Domini was dedicated in 1141, for example, it was given an extensive set of Latin inscriptions attesting to its status as a Latin church and holy site, its importance in relation to the Templar Order and the fact that it was served by Augustinian canons from a monastery on its northern side, which is no longer extant.¹⁵ There was no question of an Orthodox presence here.

The issue of what an Orthodox presence meant and what other indigenous Christians were represented in Jerusalem and Bethlehem is worth considering at this point, because of Queen Melisende (1131-61). She herself was Orthodox, but her mother, Morphia, was of Armenian ancestry, and her father, Baldwin II, was Frankish. Because of her Eastern origin, Melisende was sympathetic towards, and extended her support to a number of indigenous Christians in the Latin Kingdom, including the Armenians, the Jacobites, and the Greek Orthodox.¹⁶ It appears therefore, that as a result of her influence, these other sects gained in importance in comparison with the Syrian Orthodox. The Armenians in particular strengthened their presence by rebuilding their Cathedral of St James in Jerusalem during this period, by negotiations

14. Ibid., pp. 62-9, 92-5.

15. S. de Sandoli, *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesignatorum Terrae Sanctae* (Jerusalem, 1974), pp. 105-16.

16. S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. II (Cambridge, 1952), p. 232.

with the papal legate in 1141 about possible communion with Rome, and by having Armenians working in the crusader scriptorium of the Holy Sepulchre during the middle years of the century.¹⁷

Despite these developments, the Syrian Orthodox remained the most important non-Latin sect in Jerusalem and Bethlehem before 1187 in terms of numbers.¹⁸ How can we recognize their presence however, given their use of Greek as one liturgical language, a language that also appears on many Greek icons?¹⁹ Their existence is explicitly identifiable in both the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem in the second half of the twelfth century. In the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Theodorich, writing between 1168 and 1174, says that not only do the Syrians have a special altar in the choir and other small altars around which to conduct their services, but also that one of those altars on the north side of the church was dedicated to the Holy Cross, where a major relic of the True Cross was kept by the Syrians. This is in addition to the chapel of the Holy Cross controlled by the Latins, where the relic carried by the king in battle was kept.²⁰

In the Church of the Nativity, the Syrian Orthodox presence can be seen in other ways. Gustav Kühnel made the important discovery of an inscription in Syriac at the feet of the striding angel in the north clerestory identifying the mosaicist, Basilius.²¹ Thus in this unique case at Bethlehem, there is a bi-lingual inscription in Latin and Syriac, in which the Latin (on the lower left side) names the artist, 'Basilius

17. Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, p. 203; H. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 32, 135.

18. Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, pp. 202ff.

19. Scholars have differed about the liturgical languages used by the Syrian Orthodox. Our position is that whereas obviously Syriac was the fundamental liturgical language, the liturgies of St Mark and St James existed in both Syriac and Greek versions, and Syrian Orthodox in the Holy Land also knew Greek because of their activities in Orthodox monasteries and holy places controlled by the Greeks there. See the articles of Every, 'Syrian Christians in Palestine', 366, and id., 'Syrian Christians in Jerusalem', 53, on this point.

20. Theodorich, Chs. 7 and 8, in *Peregrinationes Tres*, ed. Huygens, pp. 151-2, and *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, pp. 282-3.

21. G. Kühnel, 'Neue Feldarbeiten zur musivischen und malerischen Ausstattung der Geburts-Basilika in Bethlehem', *Kunstchronik*, 37 (1984), 512; id., 'Das Ausschmückungsprogramm der Geburtsbasilika in Bethlehem. Byzanz und Abendland im Königreich Jerusalem', *Boreas*, 10 (1987), 148-9, and n. 47, and id., *Wall Painting in the Latin Kingdom*, Pl. XXXVI, Fig. 61, where the Syriac inscription is only dimly visible at the lower right corner of the figure.

pictor', but the Syriac (on the lower right side) specifies that Basil is a deacon.

What exactly does the presence of this Syriac inscription mean in the context of Bethlehem and the crusader kingdom in the years 1167-69 when the project to redecorate the Church of the Nativity was co-sponsored by King Amaury I, the Byzantine Emperor Manuel I Komnēnos, and Ralph, the Latin bishop of Bethlehem? It is clear that the purpose of the inscription in Syriac is not only to identify the artist, a distinctly crusader idea here in Bethlehem, but also to unequivocally declare a Syrian Orthodox presence, and to indicate Syrian Orthodox participation in the project along with the Greek Orthodox and the Roman Catholics. Lucy-Anne Hunt adds: '... the inscription is arguably the tip of the iceberg of an unbroken indigenous Christian artistic tradition'.²² Her interpretation is supported by Stern's analysis of the mosaics of the church councils on the walls of the nave of this church, below the clerestory angels painted by Basil.

Henri Stern, writing in the 1930s, first argued for significant Syrian Orthodox influence in the texts of the councils represented in mosaics on the walls of the nave, both the local councils on the north wall and the ecumenical councils on the south wall.²³ For example, Stern identified Syrian sources for the listing of bishops and certain aspects of the content of the texts of the fifth and sixth ecumenical councils.²⁴ In addition, he argued that the texts of the local councils contain various anomalies that can be explained as being derived from a Syrian *synodicon*.²⁵ Despite the importance of Syrian influence in these conciliar texts, however, none is represented in Syriac; most are in

22. L.-A. Hunt, 'Art and Colonialism: The Mosaics of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem (1169) and the Problem of "Crusader" Art', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 45 (1991), 75. Hunt's article explores the complex issues surrounding the multicultural interface between the crusaders and the Orthodox in relation to the program of decoration in the Church of the Nativity. Despite this comment, it is unclear to what extent she may be willing to entertain Stern's early dating (c.700) for the original program of mosaics in the Church of the Nativity, and especially the possible survival of early mosaics on the north nave wall. On Stern's views, see n. 23 below.

23. H. Stern, 'Les représentations des conciles dans l'église de la Nativité à Bethléhem', *Byzantion*, 11 (1936), 101-52, and id., 'Les représentations des conciles dans l'église de la Nativité à Bethléhem', Pt. 2, 'Les Inscriptions', *Byzantion*, 13 (1938), 415-59.

24. Stern, 'Les représentations des conciles', Pt. 2, 447-50, also cited by Hunt, 'Art and Colonialism', 79.

25. Ibid., 450-51 (also cited by Hunt, 79).

Greek and only one, Nicaea II, now completely destroyed, was in Latin. Thus the significance of the Syriac inscription at the feet of Basil is that it is the sole explicit indication — along with considerable other influence as noted above — of Syrian Orthodox participation in this major project at Bethlehem between 1167 and 1169, and also possibly before that time.

It is not surprising that this remarkable manifestation of the Syrian Orthodox presence should take place at Bethlehem during the reign of King Amaury I. Not only was he an important co-sponsor of the joint project to redecorate the Church of the Nativity, but also he was the only crusader king to commission serious works of history on the Christian and Muslim Levant. As William of Tyre described him, 'He loved to talk . . . with those who were familiar with far countries and foreign customs'.²⁶

It is also during Amaury's reign, of course, that John of Würzburg makes his pilgrimage to Jerusalem. In the then current ambience of multicultural awareness and interaction, John of Würzburg is able to find out about and specify the remarkable number of Christian sects in the passage quoted above. He is able, as was Theodorich — another contemporary German pilgrim — to relate to the presence of diverse Christian sects and their art in the Holy Land. It seems evident that this kind of cross-cultural perception, recently discussed by Barbara Zeitler in terms of certain works of art, grew increasingly important during the twelfth century in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.²⁷ It also seems clear that it was not only the Greek Orthodox, but also especially the Syrian Orthodox who were interested in asserting their place in such multicultural circumstances, along with the Latins.

In conclusion I would recall that Sir Steven Runciman once wrote: 'Wise Frankish statesmen in the East followed Baldwin [I]'s tradition, adopting local customs and forming local friendships and alliances, while newcomers from the West brought with them chauvinistic ideas that were disastrous for the country.'²⁸ Crusader interaction with the local Christians was a major aspect of the successful settlements which they established and maintained in the twelfth century. The art of the crusaders in this period provides important evidence for understanding

26. William of Tyre, Bk. 19, Ch. 3, *A History of 'Deeds Done Beyond the Sea'*, trans. E.A. Babcock and A.C. Krey, Vol. 2 (New York, 1941, repr. 1976), p. 298.

27. B. Zeitler, 'Cross-Cultural Interpretations of Imagery in the Middle Ages', *Art Bulletin*, 76 (1994), 680ff., esp. 690-94.

28. Runciman, *A History*, Vol. I, p. 101.

the multicultural dynamics in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem between 1099 and 1187. The interaction of crusader artists and patrons with those of Greek Orthodox and Syrian Orthodox origin not only enabled the great projects of rebuilding and redecorating the holy places to go forward, but these multicultural projects also fostered interest in a cross-cultural presence and the perception of the various participants that is unambiguously expressed in certain works of Crusader art, especially in the column paintings and mosaics of the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem.

Eleanor of Castile and the Crusading Movement

Bernard Hamilton

Eleanor of Castile was centrally involved in the crusading movement both by birth and by marriage. She was the daughter of Ferdinand III of Castile, better known as San Fernando, who brought the whole of Andalusia under Christian sovereignty,¹ and also the niece of John of Brienne, king of Jerusalem.² From the start the wars against the Muslims in Spain and in the Holy Land had been seen as part of a single enterprise, and archbishop Diego Gelmirez of Compostella addressed a Church council in 1125 about his hope of reaching Jerusalem by way of North Africa.³ San Fernando was planning to implement this policy by carrying the war into Morocco when he died on 30 May 1252.

His son Alfonso X initially shared this vision. In March 1254 he concluded a treaty with Henry III of England by which he renounced Castilian claims to Gascony, and this was sealed by the marriage at Burgos in October between the Lord Edward, Henry's elder son, and Fernando's half-sister Eleanor. One of the conditions of the alliance was that Henry would obtain the Pope's permission to substitute a joint expedition to Morocco with Alfonso for his projected crusade to the Holy Land.⁴

1. At the time of Fernando's death, client Moorish kings remained in Murcia, Granada, and Niebla, paying tribute to Castile.
2. John of Brienne married Berengaria, sister of S. Fernando, in 1223; see *L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur*, XXXII, Ch. XX, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades* (hereafter *RHC*), *Historiens Occidentaux*, Vol. II, p. 356.
3. See the letter of Urban II in P. Kehr (ed.), *Papsturkunden in Spanien*, Vol. I, *Katalonien* (Berlin, 1926), pp. 287-8; Archbishop Diego's speech is cited by J. Riley-Smith in *The Crusades: A Short History* (London, 1987), p. 92.
4. J.O. Baylen, 'John Maunsell and the Castilian Treaty of 1254: A Study of the Clerical Diplomat', *Traditio*, 17 (1961), 482-91; T. Rymer (ed.), *Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae et Acta Publica* (London, 1704), Vol. I, pp. 504-6.

So Eleanor did not leave the world of crusading behind when she married, for the English royal family was also deeply concerned about the holy war. Henry III was the nephew of Richard I, the hero of the Third Crusade, while Henry's brother, Richard of Cornwall, in 1240-41 had led a crusade to the East which had gained large territorial concessions from the Ayyubids without striking a blow.⁵ Henry III himself was also a potential crusader. He had first taken the cross at his coronation in 1216, but had been absolved from his vow by Honorius III because he was only nine at the time. But when he took the cross again in 1250, while St Louis was in Egypt, he was old enough to know his own mind,⁶ although some of his subjects speculated that his crusading zeal was only a ruse to enable him to tax the clergy.⁷ Alfonso X's proposal about a joint attack on Morocco remained a dead letter because of Henry's Sicilian ambitions. When Conrad IV died in 1254 Pope Innocent IV offered the Sicilian crown to Henry III's younger son Edmund, aged nine. But because the Hohenstaufen were firmly entrenched in Sicily it was obvious that Edmund's candidacy would only succeed if backed by force, and Alexander IV (1255-61) refused Henry's request to be allowed to crusade in Morocco instead of Syria and tried to persuade him to commute his crusading vow into a war against Sicily.⁸

Henry, who had no wish to offend Alfonso X and jeopardize the Gascony settlement, continued, albeit rather half-heartedly, to press the Pope to allow him to go to Morocco, and although Alexander IV would not agree to this, he allowed Henry to use the crusader taxes to promote his son's Sicilian interests.⁹ Thus Henry spent all the crusading funds in a fruitless attempt to secure the Sicilian crown, so that when Alfonso X finally launched his crusade against Morocco in 1260, Henry had neither the necessary dispensation nor the money to take part in it.

5. P. Jackson, 'The Crusades of 1239-41 and their Aftermath', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 50 (1987), 33-60.
6. A. Forey, 'The Crusading Vows of the English King Henry III', *Durham University Journal*, 65 (1973), 229-30.
7. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H.R. Luard, Rolls Series (London, 1880), Vol. V, p. 102.
8. Rymer, *Foedera*, Vol. I, pp. 545-6, 548.
9. *Annales de Burton*, in *Annales Monasti*, ed. H.R. Luard, Rolls Series (London, 1864), Vol. I, p. 351; cf. Forey, 'Crusading Vows', 233-45, on the financing of the Sicilian expedition.

Alfonso's troops captured Salé on the Atlantic coast and held it for three weeks, a victory which, though ephemeral, was psychologically important as C.J. Bishko has pointed out, because for the first time Spanish Christians had carried the war into Africa.¹⁰

Alfonso made no further attack on Morocco, so the opportunity of a joint English-Castilian crusade against the Moors did not arise again. But Henry III had still not fulfilled his vow and could not do so during the baronial wars of the early 1260s. However, when Clement IV began to preach a new crusade and St Louis once again took the cross in 1267, the situation in England had become more peaceful. On Midsummer Day 1268 both the Lord Edward and his brother Edmund received the cross from the papal legate Cardinal Ottobuoni.¹¹ Henry III initially said that he would accompany them, but he was an elderly man and the Pope gave him permission to allow one of his sons to crusade on his behalf. Although, as Alan Forey has shown, Henry was initially reluctant to use this dispensation, he finally agreed to do so, because it was thought inadvisable that the king and both his sons should be absent from the kingdom at the same time.¹² So Edward fulfilled his father's vow as well as his own.

Eleanor of Castile also took the cross.¹³ This was by no means an automatic consequence of her husband's doing so, but rather the reverse. The position of women in the crusading movement was an anomalous one. When Pope Urban called the First Crusade he did not forbid women to take part, because the crusade was conceived as an armed pilgrimage with special spiritual benefits which could not be denied to any Christian. Nevertheless, he did specify that a woman must be accompanied by a man who would protect her: her husband, brother, father, or legal guardian.¹⁴ Subsequently the Church tried to dissuade women from going on crusade, and the religious reasons for their doing so were effectively abolished when Innocent III decreed that women and other non-combatants might receive the full spiritual benefits of crusading by commuting their vows in return for a

10. C.J. Bishko, 'The Spanish and Portuguese Reconquest, 1095-1492', in K.M. Setton (gen. ed.), *History of the Crusades*, Vol. III (Madison, 1975), p. 434; A. Ballesteros, 'La Toma de Salé en tiempos de Alfonso el Sabio', *Al-Andalus*, 8 (1943), 89-196.

11. *Annales de Oseneia*, in *Annales Monastici*, Vol. IV (London, 1869), pp. 217-18.

12. Forey, 'Crusading Vows', 246.

13. Details of her retinue on the crusade in S. Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade, 1216-1307* (Oxford, 1988), p. 124 and App. 4.

14. J.A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (Madison, 1969), p. 32.

contribution to crusading funds which would be used to support active crusaders. But women were never forbidden to take the cross.¹⁵

Eleanor's reasons for going on crusade are not known. There were precedents in her husband's family: the Spanish princess, Berengaria of Navarre, had gone on the Third Crusade as the betrothed bride of Richard I whom she married in Cyprus,¹⁶ while Eleanor of Aquitaine, from whom both Edward and Eleanor were descended, had taken part in the Second Crusade while married to Louis VII of France.¹⁷ It seems probable that Eleanor of Castile was more influenced by the example of Queen Marguerite of France than by that of these earlier queens of England. Her mother-in-law, Eleanor of Provence, was one of four sisters all of whom made distinguished marriages: Marguerite to St Louis; Sanchia to Richard of Cornwall; and Beatrice to Louis's brother, Charles of Anjou. All the sisters were present at the Christmas court in Paris in 1254, held to celebrate the return of St Louis from the Holy Land after his first crusade, and there would have learned from Marguerite, who had accompanied him, about the decisive role she had taken during the Egyptian campaign.¹⁸ She had been left in charge of Damietta in 1250 while the main army marched on Cairo, and when news reached the city of the king's defeat Marguerite prevailed on the Italian merchant community to stay at their posts and not flee back to the West. Although she had given birth to a son only three days before, the queen rose from her confinement and addressed the Italian consuls, pointing out that if Damietta were lost the king would have no bargaining counter with which to secure the safety of his army, and chiefly as a result of her decisive intervention the king and the entire French army was ransomed.¹⁹ Eleanor of Castile must have heard this story from her mother-in-law, Eleanor of Provence, and perhaps also from her husband's aunt, Sanchia Countess of Cornwall.²⁰ Queen

15. J.A. Brundage, 'The Crusader's Wife: A Canonistic Quandary', *Studia Gratiana*, 12 (1967), 427-41.

16. *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi*, Bk. II, Ch. XXXV, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series (London, 1864), pp. 195-6.

17. Odo of Deuil, *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, ed. V.G. Berry (New York, 1948).

18. F.M. Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward* (Oxford, 1947), Vol. I, pp. 240-41.

19. John of Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, Ch. LXXXVIII, ed. N. de Wailly (Paris, 1868), pp. 141-2.

20. Sanchia of Cornwall died in 1262; Eleanor of Provence outlived her daughter-in-law and died in 1291.

Marguerite had proved that a woman might play an active part on crusade even though she could not fight, and this may have influenced Eleanor in her decision.

Even for a princess, taking the cross involved courage and sacrifice. Courage was needed, for although women were non-combatants, they were exposed to the risks of malnutrition which all too often beset crusader armies, to diseases endemic in Africa and the Levant to which they had no immunity, and to the hazards of shipwreck and of capture by the infidel. Crusading involved sacrifice because the participants had no way of telling how long the war would last. A crusader accepted a self-imposed exile of uncertain duration. In Eleanor's case this meant being separated from her children. She had three in 1268: Eleanor aged four, John aged two, and Henry, who was one year old. In an era when infant mortality was high a long absence must have been a cause of anxiety to any mother. Eleanor paid a high price for her crusading venture, since John died before her return to England and Henry two months after she came back.²¹

The Lord Edward might not have been able to prevent his wife from taking the crusade vow, but he could have persuaded her to commute it for a generous donation to crusading funds had he not wished her to go with him. The fact that he did not do so is perhaps evidence that he and Eleanor were happily married, but there may have been an additional reason. It was axiomatic that crusades were pleasing to God, yet it was self-evident that most of them failed. The unvarying explanation of this paradox, as Elizabeth Siberry has shown, was that failure was the result of human sin: God withdrew his support from crusaders who lived unchristian lives.²² Crusader leaders were therefore anxious to avoid committing sins which would jeopardize the success of the expeditions which they commanded. Sexual sins were clearly a hazard, especially in the case of married men. For fornication, which was not thought very serious by moral theologians, was only an option for bachelors; the sexual misdemeanours of married men were adulterous, and those were serious sins because they involved the breaking of marriage vows.²³ A

21. John died on 3 Aug. 1271; Henry on 14 Oct. 1274; Edward and Eleanor reached England on 2 Aug. 1274; see E.B. Fryde *et al.* (eds.), *Handbook of British Chronology*, 3rd edn. (London, 1986), p. 38.

22. E. Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading, 1095-1274* (Oxford, 1985).

23. John of Joinville, a married man, was very conscious of this while on crusade: 'Mes lis estoit fais en mon paveillon en tel maniere, que nus ne pooit entrer ens, que il ne me veist gesir en mon lit; et ce fesoie-je pour oster toutes mescreances de femmes', Ch. XCVIII, p. 179.

happily married prince was less likely to commit adultery if he took his wife with him, and that may have been why Edward wanted Eleanor to accompany him.

The response to the call for a crusade was disappointing in England, and Edward, recognizing that he could not lead a separate army, agreed to serve under St Louis.²⁴ Louis's brother, Charles of Anjou, had become King of Sicily in 1266 after attempts to enthrone Edmund of England there had proved ineffective. Charles agreed to take part in the crusade, but persuaded Louis to direct it in the first instance against the emir of Tunis. Jean Richard has argued convincingly that St Louis was not being manipulated by Charles of Anjou to use the crusade in the political interests of Sicily, but that Louis himself considered that the Christian cause would be greatly strengthened by gaining control of some north African ports, though he envisaged this as only a first stage in an expedition to succour the Crusader States.²⁵

Edward and Eleanor had agreed to liaison with Louis at Aigues-Mortes, but were delayed in leaving England and Louis therefore sailed ahead of them.²⁶ Landing on 18 July near the site of ancient Carthage, he was preparing to besiege Tunis when he fell victim to an epidemic which killed many of his men, and died on 25 August. The crusade then had to be abandoned so that Philip III could return to France, and Charles of Anjou negotiated peace with the emir of Tunis. The English army reached the camp on 10 November, just before the crusade embarked for Sicily.²⁷ It is, I think, legitimate to speculate that Eleanor, who owned a large collection of vernacular romances and patronized writers, may have appreciated this brief visit to the home of Queen Dido more than most of the army.²⁸ The other leaders decided to defer the main crusade for three years, but Edward was adamant that he would continue to the Holy Land alone. He wintered in Sicily at the court of Charles of Anjou because sailing in the winter months was too

24. Lloyd, *English Society*, pp. 114-19.

25. J. Richard, *Saint Louis, Roi d'une France féodale, soutien de la Terre sainte* (Paris, 1983), pp. 558-66.

26. For the organization and composition of Edward's crusading force, see Lloyd, *English Society*, pp. 113-53. The evidence for Edward's itinerary to Aigues-Mortes is unclear. I have followed M. Prestwich, *Edward I* (London, 1988), p. 73.

27. Richard, *Saint Louis*, pp. 566-73.

28. The Wardrobe Account for Eleanor for 1290 contains the item, 'pro j coffro empto . . . pro Romanciis Regine'; see J.C. Parsons (ed.), *The Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile in 1290* (Toronto, 1977), p. 90; see also p. 13, n. 39.

dangerous, and it was not until May 1271 that he and Eleanor finally reached Acre, having made a brief call at Cyprus on the way.²⁹

The crusader settlements were desperately in need of help. The remnants of the Latin Kingdom were torn by faction and threatened by the Mamluks of Egypt, whose power had become formidable since the First Crusade of St Louis, for they had succeeded in harnessing the economic resources of their large empire, which stretched from Libya to north Syria, to support a huge professional standing army. Nevertheless, they feared the possibility of an alliance between a new crusade and the Mongols of Persia, and this led the sultan Baybars to attempt to destroy the remaining Frankish outposts in Syria, so that future crusades would have no bases from which to operate. In the winter of 1270-71 he had captured the great fortresses of Crac des Chevaliers and Chastel Blanc in the county of Tripoli; and in June 1271, that is after the Lord Edward had landed, the sultan captured the castle of Montfort, headquarters of the Teutonic Knights, which was not far from Acre.³⁰

This shows that he did not consider Edward a very serious threat, for he probably had fewer than 1,000 men under his command, together with small independent contingents of Bretons and Flemings.³¹ Arguably Edward had a sensible threefold plan of action: he sought to activate the alliance with the Mongol Ilkhan Abagha and sent an embassy to his court; he wanted to co-ordinate the armed forces in the Crusader States because together with his own troops they would make a quite substantial army, and summoned a conference of representatives from the three states, Jerusalem, Cyprus, and Tripoli, to plan a campaign; and he wished to impose a trade embargo on Egypt. Acre was one of the greatest ports in the Levant and its trade was almost entirely in the hands of Italian merchants who did not scruple, despite papal prohibitions, to sell war materials, notably iron and timber, to the Egyptian sultan. None of Edward's plans proved effective. The Venetians, who were the dominant mercantile power in Acre, flatly

29. *Les Gestes des Chyprois*, RHC, *Documents Arméniens*, Vol. II, p. 777; Marino Sanuto, *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis*, Bk. III, Pt. XII, Ch. XI (Hanover, 1611), p. 224.

30. R. Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate, 1250-1382* (London, 1986), pp. 36-61; P. Thoreau, trans. P.M. Holt, *The Lion of Egypt: Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century* (London, 1987), pp. 187-208.

31. There are no precise figures for Edward's army: Lloyd, *English Society*, pp. 113-53, 262-81; Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 71.

refused to acknowledge his jurisdiction and continued to trade with the infidel, while the barons of Cyprus claimed that they were under no obligation to fight on the mainland, thus making it impossible for Edward to raise an adequate force.³²

Although the Ilkhan was engaged in a war on his northern frontier and was unable to divert his main army to Syria, he instructed his commander in eastern Turkey to dispatch such troops as he could spare, and a force of 10,000 Mongol irregulars swept down as far south as Apamea. But Edward did not have enough troops to effect a liaison with them, and in mid-November the Mongols returned home because they were not numerous enough to take on the main Egyptian army.³³ Their presence had led the sultan to concentrate his own forces at Damascus, which left Edward a free hand in Palestine; however, because he had so few men he was not able to take advantage of this situation.

Among those who had accompanied Edward was Tebaldo Visconti, archdeacon of Liège, who in the autumn of 1271 was informed that he had been elected Pope, thus ending a three-year long papal vacancy. Before leaving for Rome he preached an impassioned sermon in the Cathedral of the Holy Cross at Acre on the text; 'If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget its cunning'.³⁴ Baybars was aware that the new Pope was intent on raising a crusade, and events in north Syria had shown that the prospect of co-ordinated Mongol-Christian action was not an illusion. This made him prepared to negotiate a truce with the government of Jerusalem in April 1272 which was to last ten years, ten months, and ten days. Charles of Anjou, rather than the Lord Edward, seems to have been responsible for brokering this treaty, which brought Edward's crusade to an end.³⁵ Although its terms allowed Christians free access to the Holy Places, the papacy had forbidden Catholics to visit Jerusalem while it was in Muslim hands on

32. The main accounts of the campaign of the Lord Edward are those of R. Röhricht, 'Etudes sur les derniers temps du royaume de Jérusalem. A. La croisade du prince Edouard d'Angleterre (1270-1274)', *Archives de l'Orient latin* (hereafter *AOL*), Vol. I (1881), pp. 617-32; Powicke, *Henry III*, Vol. II, pp. 596-617; C.J. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095-1588* (Chicago, 1988), pp. 124-32.

33. Thoreau, *Lion*, pp. 208-10.

34. *Gregorii X vita anonymo scripta*, ed. R.L. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (hereafter *RIS*), new edn. G. Carducci and V. Fiorine (Città di Castello, 1900), Vol. III (I), p. 599.

35. Thoreau, *Lion*, pp. 209-10; Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 77-8.

pain of excommunication; but Edward and Eleanor may have visited Nazareth. This, the site of the childhood of Christ, would have been an appropriate place of pilgrimage for them, because in the spring of 1272 Eleanor had given birth to a daughter, who was named Jeanne after Eleanor's mother, and who became known in England as Joan of Acre.³⁶ The Catholic cathedral of Nazareth, built by the crusaders, had been ruined by Baybars when he captured the city in 1263, but the rock chapels in the crypt, which contained the most holy shrines, remained in liturgical use.³⁷

Before he left Acre an attempt was made on Edward's life by a member of the Order of Assassins, a Nizarite Isma'īlī group which had been subdued by Baybars, who had taken some of its highly trained assassins into his service. Although the Lord Edward was wounded, he succeeded in wresting the knife from his opponent and stabbing him to death.³⁸ With justifiable pride he took the murder weapon back to England and displayed it in the royal treasury.³⁹ This attack shows that, despite the ineffectiveness of his military intervention, the sultan thought Edward potentially dangerous. He would one day be ruler of the Angevin dominions; he was a friend of the new Pope; he had established contact with the Mongol Ilkhan; but above all he had proved that he was dedicated to the crusading cause by staying in the East for so long.

36. Fryde *et al.*(eds.), *Handbook*, p. 38.

37. *Annales de Terre Sainte*, AOL, Vol. II, p. 451; J. Folda, *The Nazareth Capitals and the Crusader Shrine of the Annunciation* (Pennsylvania, 1986), pp. 12-13. Powicke suggested that Edward may have visited Nazareth, see *Henry III*, Vol. II, p. 603.

38. Although Prestwich doubts whether the murderer was a Nizarite Isma'īlī, see *Edward I*, pp. 78-9, F. Daftary, in a recent work sympathetic to this religious community, reports the widely held belief that the Assassins carried out this attempt on Baybars' orders: *The Isma'īlīs: Their History and Doctrines* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 434. The Syrian branch of the Order had recently been subdued by Baybars; see Thoreau, *Lion*, pp. 201-3.

39. It was still there in the reign of Edward III. 'Un cotel dont le Roi Edward estoit navre en la T're Seinte en Acres sanz pris', is Item 68 in the Treasury Inventory of Robert de Wodehouse in 1338, *The Antient (sic) Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of his Majesty's Exchequer*, ed. Sir Francis Palgrave, Vol. III (London, 1836), p. 174. This is repeated two years later in the Inventory of Robert Sadington in 1340, *ibid.*, p. 198. Dr. Sarah Barter Bailey, Librarian of the Royal Armouries in the Tower of London, tells me in a private letter that she can find no later evidence for this item, and 'that no knife that might correspond to that description has been identified in the collection surviving in the Royal Armouries'.

Apart perhaps from a pilgrimage to Nazareth, Eleanor stayed in Acre throughout her time in the Holy Land. It was an important centre of book production and manuscript illumination, and while she was there she commissioned an English scholar, master Richard, to translate Vegetius' treatise, *De re militari*, into Old French; the text was then illuminated for her by Acre miniaturists and she gave this edition as a present to her husband. This was the earliest known Old French translation of Vegetius. The presentation copy no longer survives, but Marlay Add. MS 1 in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge is a later copy of it, and contains an earlier miniature of a sea battle which may have been produced in Acre and possibly formed part of the Lord Edward's book.⁴⁰

Eleanor and Edward left for the West on 22 September, and spent the winter at the court of Charles of Anjou. While there they learnt that Henry III had died and that they were now rulers of England, but they could not cross the Alps until the spring.⁴¹ Eleanor spent part of her time negotiating with Charles of Anjou about the release of her brother, Prince Henry of Castile, who some years earlier had quarrelled with Alfonso X and come to Italy, where he had a distinguished career as a freelance adventurer until he took the losing side in the war of the Sicilian succession and ended up as Charles's prisoner. Although Eleanor failed to secure his release, Charles allowed three of the queen's procurators to visit her brother and supervise the conditions in which he was being held. This was a political issue, not simply a matter of family affection. The imprisonment of a prince reflected adversely on his kin by marriage as well as by blood, and Edward continued to press the Sicilian Crown for his brother-in-law's release even after Eleanor's death.⁴²

In 1273 Edward and Eleanor had an audience with Tebaldo Visconti, now Pope Gregory X, at Viterbo,⁴³ and Edward then went on to Paris to do homage for Gascony to the new king, Philip III.⁴⁴ Eleanor

40. J. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275-1291* (Princeton, 1976), pp. 16-17, 129-30, 199, No. 18 (description of the manuscript with bibliography).

41. *Willelmi Rishanger Chronica et Annales*, ed. H.T. Riley, Rolls Series (London, 1865), p. 78.

42. On the career of the Infant Henry, see S. Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers* (Cambridge, 1958), pp. 99-116; for Eleanor's intervention, see Powicke, *Henry III*, Vol. II, p. 608, n. 2.

43. *Annales Urbevetani, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores*, Vol. XIX, p. 270; Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 83.

44. *Rishanger*, ed. Riley, p. 80; Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 85.

did not accompany him but went to the court of her brother, Alfonso X, in Seville. Inevitably that visit had a political dimension: Alfonso entrusted her with state business, which she was to discuss verbally with Edward.⁴⁵ This is an indication of the extent to which her husband and her brother considered her politically competent. The queen was once again pregnant and when she reached Gascony gave birth on 27 November to a son who was called Alfonso after her brother.⁴⁶ It was not until 1274 that she and Edward returned to England.

Edward I retained his interest in the Holy Land and paid for a tower to be built in Acre to strengthen the city's defences, which was entrusted to the small English confraternity of St Edward.⁴⁷ After the truce with Egypt expired in 1282 and the situation of the Crusader States grew more desperate, Edward was pressed to return there, but his commitments in Western Europe made that impossible. Among those who sent embassies to him were the Mongol Ilkhans of Persia, Abagha, and after 1282 his son Arghun, both of whom were anxious to promote a new crusade to hold the power of the Mamluks in check.⁴⁸ In 1286 Arghun sent an embassy led by a Nestorian monk, Rabban Sauma, who had been born in Peking and later became a close adviser of the Nestorian Patriarch of Baghdad. So far as is known he was the first Chinese visitor to Western Europe: certainly he was the first to leave an account of it. He went to Italy, then visited Philip IV in Paris, and learning that the king of England was in Gascony went on to Bordeaux. There he delivered the Ilkhan's letters and gifts to Edward and at the king's request celebrated the Nestorian liturgy at which Edward is said to have received Holy Communion and to have declared that he had once more taken the cross.⁴⁹ Rabban Sauma does not mention the queen in his account, but there is no reason to doubt that she was present with

45. Rymer, *Foedera*, II, p. 11; Powicke, *Henry III*, Vol. II, p. 614, n. 1.

46. Born 24 Nov. 1273, see Fryde *et al.* (eds.), *Handbook*, p. 38.

47. *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1272-81* . . . in the *Public Record Office, Edward I, AD 1272-78* (London, 1901), p. 296; J. Riley-Smith, 'A Note on Confraternities in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* (hereafter *BIHR*), 44 (1971), 303.

48. L. Lockhart, 'The Relations between Edward I and Edward II of England and the Mongol Il-Khans of Persia', *Iran*, 6 (1968), 23-31.

49. M. Rossabi, *Voyager from Xanadu: Rabban Sauma and the First Journey from China to the West* (New York, 1992), pp. 153-6; Rabban Sauma's account is translated by E.A. Wallis Budge in *The Monks of Kublai Khan* (London, 1928), pp. 185-7.

the rest of the court, and Tyerman has conjectured that she also may have taken the cross again at this time.⁵⁰

For Eleanor retained her interest in the East although she never returned there. Right up to the end of her life she bought luxury goods from the merchants of Acre: in January 1290, for example, she bought, three basins of Damascene work, thirteen ounces of silk, and two dozen camlets made in Tripoli from Roger of Acre.⁵¹ She did not live to see the loss of Acre and of all the remaining Frankish strongholds in the Latin Kingdom which took place a few months after her death.⁵²

The Lord Edward was the last important Western leader to crusade in the Holy Land, and although he achieved very little, he was celebrated in later romances as a model of the chivalric, crusading prince. Some of this idealization rubbed off on Eleanor as well, and the story was told of how she had saved her husband's life by sucking the poison from his wound when he was struck down at Acre by the assassin's dagger. There is no warrant for this in any contemporary source; the story was first told by Ptolemy of Lucca 100 years later.⁵³

That tale was a story-teller's view of how a good crusader's wife should behave. The reality is, I think, more interesting. Eleanor went on crusade from a sense of personal conviction and at some cost to herself. Unlike Queen Marguerite of France she did not have the chance to play any dramatic role in the crusade, but that was the result of a lack of opportunity rather than a lack of initiative, for the crusade of the Lord Edward was extremely uneventful. During much of her time abroad she was pregnant, and while in Acre she interested herself in the intellectual life of the city and shared that interest with her husband by commissioning a translation of Vegetius for him. On the homeward journey she also shared with him the work of forging closer links with Castile, by seeking to defend Castilian interests in the Kingdom of Sicily and by acting as an ambassador on her husband's behalf to the court of Alfonso X. Her marriage had been arranged to draw England and Castile more closely together, but Eleanor did not construe her role in this as a passive one. The picture of the marriage which emerges from Eleanor's crusading activity is one of a relationship of parity, and it goes far to explain, I think, why the king mourned his wife so deeply when she died.

50. Eleanor's presence with Edward in Gascony from 1286-89 is widely attested: J.P. Trabut-Cussac, 'Itinéraire d'Edouard Ier en France du 13 mai 1286 au 12 août 1289', *BIHR*, 25 (1952), 160-203; Tyerman, *England*, pp. 237-8.

51. Parsons, *Court*, p. 85.

52. Eleanor died on 28 Nov. 1290; see Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 363.

53. Ptolemy of Lucca, in Muratori (ed.), *RIS*, Vol. XI, p. 1168.

Frontier Societies and Crusading in the Late Middle Ages

Norman Housley

There is general agreement amongst historians that during its 'classical period' (1095-1291), crusading was influenced to only a limited degree by Christendom's frontier societies. The First Crusade had its origin in the interaction between a reforming papacy and a warrior aristocracy concerned for its own salvation, which occurred within the heartlands of post-Carolingian Europe in the late eleventh century. Research since 1945 has played down the importance of events in the Byzantine-Muslim East, relegating them essentially to the role of catalyst.¹ Recently doubt has also been cast on the importance of the Catholic-Muslim frontier in Iberia, which was nearer at hand and used to be credited with considerable formative influence on 'the idea of crusade'. One British historian has argued against the traditional role of the *Reconquista* as a 'dress rehearsal' for the First Crusade.² Another has asserted that far from originating in Spain, the crusading idea had to be implanted there, and that this occurred as late as the second quarter of the twelfth century.³

The development of the crusade idea in the century or so following the First Crusade reveals a not dissimilar picture. For a long time the frontier societies which most crusades were launched to assist did relatively little to shape the form of the expeditions from which it was hoped that they would benefit. The vital job of interpreting the First Crusade in the context of Catholic theology was accomplished in the

1. C. Cahen, 'An Introduction to the First Crusade', *Past and Present*, 6 (1954), 6-29.
2. M. Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony, c.970- c.1130* (Oxford, 1993), Ch. 2 *passim*.
3. R.A. Fletcher, 'Reconquest and Crusade in Spain, c.1050-1150', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 37 (1987), 31-47. See also his *St James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 294-9.

early decades of the twelfth century, as one of the last great achievements of traditional monastic scholarship, mainly in northern France.⁴ The transformation of the early 'pilgrimage in arms' into a relatively sophisticated instrument of papal policy naturally took place primarily at the papal *curia* and at the hands of canonists teaching at Europe's nascent universities.⁵ Meanwhile the evolution of dynastic traditions of crusading, which gave the movement a good deal of its continuity and dynamism, demonstrated the strength of lineage, one of the most striking characteristics of Western European society in the central Middle Ages.⁶ But even during crusading's first century the influence of the frontier was beginning to make itself felt in two respects. Frontiersmen in Spain, and on Germany's eastern borders, lobbied with some vigour for an extension of crusading to their local conflicts with Muslims and pagans.⁷ As for the Latin East, a combination of that region's mounting problems, the defeats inflicted on successive crusading expeditions, and a growing awareness in the West that information from the East would be helpful in order to understand the former and avoid repeating the latter, slowly generated an exchange of views. Most significantly, William, archbishop of Tyre, who attended the Third Lateran Council in 1179, wrote his great *Historia* with the goal of making the aid coming out to Latin Syria from the West more effective, although he showed no firm grasp of how this might be done.⁸

In contrast to William of Tyre, by 1267 William of Agen, the patriarch of Jerusalem, had a list of specific proposals of how the West

4. J.S.C. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London, 1986), Ch. 6 *passim*.
5. J.S.C. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History* (London, 1987), Chs. 5-7 *passim*; J.A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (Madison, WI, 1969).
6. J.S.C. Riley-Smith, 'Family Traditions and Participation in the Second Crusade', in M. Gervers (ed.), *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians* (New York, 1992), pp. 101-8. Note the case for specific influence by the Muslim *ribāt* on the origins of the military orders, made by Elena Lourie in 'The Confraternity of Belchite, the Ribat, and the Temple', *Viator*, 13 (1982), 159-76. Others have disagreed: see A. Forey, *The Military Orders from the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Basingstoke, 1992), pp. 7-9; Fletcher, 'Reconquest and Crusade in Spain', 45-6.
7. N. Housley, 'Jerusalem and the Development of the Crusade Idea, 1099-1128', in B.Z. Kedar (ed.), *The Horns of Hattin* (Jerusalem, 1992), pp. 27-40, at 35-8.
8. P.W. Edbury and J.G. Rowe, *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge, 1988), Conclusion, esp. pp. 173-4.

should come to the help of its Eastern co-religionists.⁹ From this point onwards the situation changed more rapidly, as the frantic search by Western authorities for an escape route from their strategic impasse coincided with greater assertiveness and proliferating detail in the advice submitted from those in positions of power and responsibility in the East. In the years following the catastrophe of 1291, such men as King Henry II of Cyprus, Masters Fulk of Villaret and James of Molay, and Prince Hayton of Armenia, did their best to inform the debate about how to recover the Holy Land and keep the Mamluks at bay.¹⁰ This heightened degree of interaction between frontier and heartland became a permanent feature of crusading. The result was that the crusade in the 'post-classical period' (1291-c.1600) was actively shaped by the frontier, and not just in the East: there are ample signs of lobbying, advice, and exhortation too in Castile, the Prussian *Ordensstaat*, and the Balkan states which were threatened by the Ottomans in the fifteenth century. Advice and information poured into the courts of the popes, the kings of France, the dukes of Burgundy and other would-be crusaders, regarding the size of the putative crusade, its composition, timing, strategy, and leadership.¹¹ Indeed, two of the most original innovations in late medieval crusading, the Lithuanian *Reisen* and the naval leagues against the Anatolian Turks, were essentially the inventions of frontier powers, although they could not have been successful had the Catholic heartlands not proved receptive to them.¹²

But this is only part of the story, and the more predictable part. Rulers who wanted to expand their lands, who depended on Western support to wage a constant war against a mighty pagan power, or were desperate for assistance against a conquering Islamic sultanate, could be expected to proffer advice and to try to make the help which they hoped to receive as effective as possible. The attitudes of those of their subjects who were in regular, even day-to-day contact with non-Catholics at the frontier are less predictable, and therefore interest us more. Were they eager to sanctify their conflicts? Was crusading, or religious warfare in a more general sense, a normal or abnormal

9. G. Servois, 'Emprunts de Saint Louis en Palestine et en Afrique', *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des chartes*, 4th ser., 4 (1858), 283-93, at 291-3.

10. S. Schein, *Fideles crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1274-1314* (Oxford, 1991).

11. For example, M.B. Petrovich, 'The Croatian Humanists and the Ottoman Peril', *Balkan Studies*, 20 (1979), 257-73.

12. N. Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274-1580: From Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 56-62, 338-44.

condition of life along frontiers between faiths in the late Middle Ages? Could crusading coexist or alternate with *convivencia* on the frontier? These are large questions, and all that I can hope to do here is to make some suggestions about how they might fruitfully be addressed. It is appropriate and pleasing to do so in a volume offered to one of the finest historians of Frankish expansion in the East and its many social and cultural ramifications.

It may be useful at this point to refer to a number of hypotheses which need to be tested. First, self-interest would lead one to expect that relations on those frontiers where arable farming was practised, and/or large-scale cross-border trade took place, would have been more peaceful than in the case of frontiers whose communities lived chiefly by pastoral farming, with its ready opportunities for rustling. Secondly, one might expect stable frontiers to have been characterized by *convivencia*, or even by cultural exchange, and dynamic frontiers by hostilities. And thirdly, there are grounds for an *a priori* assumption that frontiers dominated on the Catholic side by the military orders would have generated not just warfare, but a crusading ethos. This was due to the public expectations which the orders had to live up to, their ability to lobby effectively at the papal *curia* for crusading status and privileges, and their custody of an array of traditions, procedures, and observances which would enable them to deck out military activity in quasi-crusading garb even if this lobbying proved unsuccessful. Lying behind all these hypotheses is the assumption that an interactive, permeable frontier would have tended to defuse not just bellicosity but also religious antagonism, unless vested interests countered that tendency.

Probably the most diversified late medieval frontier was the Latin East after 1291. Venetian and Genoese 'colonial' dependencies existed alongside a cluster of Frankish states including the Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus, the principality of Achaia (the Peloponnese) and the array of duchies and lordships in eastern Greece and the Aegean islands, and the Hospitaller 'order-state' on Rhodes and its archipelago. These Christian powers presented anything but a united front. Bands of Catalan and Navarrese mercenaries made destructive and destabilizing inroads into Greece, the relationship between Latins and Greeks was initially hostile and always volatile, and the Genoese and Venetians felt unremitting hostility towards each other. Political confusion and change amongst the Christians, both Catholics and Orthodox, was complemented by rich if shifting patterns of commercial and political intercourse between Christians and Muslims. Indeed, there is little evidence that a concept of 'frontier' took clear shape amongst the Catholics in late medieval

Romania, at least until the arrival of Ottoman naval power and expansionist ambitions in the fifteenth century.

Undoubtedly the authorities on Rhodes and Cyprus had a consistent policy of presenting themselves to the West as bulwarks of the faith (*propugnacula fidei*). This was crucial both to muster support and to stave off criticism and even assault by their co-religionists. But there is not much to show that the official message reached far beyond the master and brethren on Rhodes, and the royal court on Cyprus. If, as Philip of Mézières claimed in his life of St Peter Thomas, the legate 'exhorted the king [Peter I], nobles and people of Cyprus to continue the marvellous God-willed work of destroying the enemies of the faith' after the Cypriot capture of Adalia in 1361, there are few signs that anybody, except perhaps King Peter himself, was affected by his passionate appeal.¹³ And it is striking that no evidence exists that the most colourful example of Lusignan crusading ideology, Peter I's chivalric Order of the Sword, was ever bestowed on any of the dynasty's Cypriot subjects.¹⁴ The *Chronicle of the Morea* shows that the Lusignans' consciousness of their crusading past was shared by the ruling élite of the Frankish Peloponnese. But there is a strong argument for attributing this to their perceived need to preserve their cultural identity in a 'melting pot' society.¹⁵ Strategic and military circumstances in Latin Greece were simply too convoluted for the concept of a 'frontier struggle' to take firm root.

This is not to deny the vitality of crusading in *Romania* after 1291, or to circumscribe that vitality by associating it solely with intervenient Westerners like St Peter Thomas, Humbert of Vienne, and Amedeo of Savoy in the fourteenth century, or Geoffrey of Thoisie and Waleran of Wavrin in the fifteenth. Apart from pure scepticism, there is no reason to reject the possibility that individual Rhodians, Cypriot nobles, or Cretan sailors who took part in warfare against the Mamluks or Turks which was preached as crusade, were fired with enthusiasm for the cause of holy war. What was lacking, or at any rate has not come to light so far, is an ongoing culture of religious warfare outside these occasions, one rooted in the perception of a frontier between faiths.

13. J. Smet (ed.), *The Life of Saint Peter Thomas by Philippe de Mézières* (Rome, 1954), p. 97.

14. Evidence on the Order is limited. See D'A.J.D. Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325-1520* (Woodbridge, 1987), Ch. 7.

15. D. Jacoby, 'The Encounter of Two Societies: Western Conquerors and Byzantines in the Peloponnese after the Fourth Crusade', *American Historical Review*, 78 (1973), 873-906.

When the Ottoman Turks crossed the Dardanelles into Byzantine Thrace in 1354 they brought into being a new European land frontier between Christianity and Islam. The Turks' initial victims in the Balkans were the Orthodox Byzantines and Bulgarians, and Ottoman methods of conquest, in particular their tributary system, meant that the concept of frontier was of questionable value in any case.¹⁶ But by the close of the fourteenth century the Turks had reached the banks of the Danube, and thereafter they posed a threat to the Catholic Kingdom of Hungary. When their westwards advance was resumed in the 1430s they encountered the strong resistance of John Hunyadi, the *voivode* of Transylvania, effectively Hungary's eastern marcher province. And in 1443 George Castriota Scanderbeg led an Albanian rebellion against the Turks. The struggle conducted by the two men during the middle decades of the century appears to fall into the category of a holy war on a religious frontier. In both instances there existed the frontier characteristic of knowing, and taking advantage of, the different ways of the enemy. Moreover, both eastern Transylvania and Albania were mountainous regions, whose peoples needed little encouragement to settle into a pattern of belligerent raiding and rustling. Hunyadi, moreover, led or took prominent part in several actual crusades, while Scanderbeg tried to secure papal funding for his activities on the basis that his threatened homeland was the embattled *propugnaculum* of Catholic Christendom, and in particular of Italy and the papal court.

The problem in both cases is the familiar one that the sources rarely go beyond the official depiction of the war.¹⁷ Hungarian enthusiasm was aroused for the crusade against the Turks, notably during the relief of Belgrade in 1456, when what appears remarkably like a *levée en masse* occurred. But such occasions constituted war in defence of the homeland (*pro patria*), rather than forming part of a discernible pattern of frontier life.¹⁸ For the latter we have to wait until the period after Hunyadi's death in 1456, when Hungary's southern flank was defended for 70 years by a string of fortresses spread over a distance of 375 miles, and constituting a fairly stable frontier. Enough has been written about this militarized frontier for us to form a reasonably clear picture of how it functioned in terms of the make-up and recruitment of

16. H. Inalcik, 'Ottoman Methods of Conquest', *Studia islamica*, 2 (1954), 103-29.

17. For example, J. Held, *Hunyadi: Legend and Reality* (Boulder, CO, 1985), p. 129 (Hunyadi to the Pope, 1448); p. 241 (Hunyadi to the Saxons, 1456).

18. Held (*ibid.*, p. 168) has suggested that crusade preaching in 1456 was particularly successful in 'directly threatened southern districts' of Hungary, but nobody has looked at this in detail.

garrisons, and the crippling financial strain imposed by their payment and support.¹⁹ We can appreciate the importance of the devastating, large-scale raids conducted into Ottoman territory, and the occasional bolstering of the southern perimeter by the levies of that most evasive of military institutions, the *militia portalis*.²⁰ But the views which the commanders, the garrison troops and the levies held of their work and role have not been investigated.²¹

The obscurity of the situation in southern Hungary and Croatia during these decades is frustrating. But there is some compensation in the clear picture which Wendy Bracewell has recently painted of the nearby uskok (= pirate) town of Senj, on the Dalmatian coast, in the decades following the catastrophic Hungarian defeat at Mohács in 1526.²² In the course of a sympathetic but far from uncritical appraisal of uskok mores, she concluded that the concept of a holy war on Christendom's frontier formed a significant facet of this community's self-perception. In uskok eyes, Senj was a classic *antemurale Christianitatis*. In this it was similar to fifteenth-century Rhodes or Hungary, the difference being that in Senj's case there exists much more evidence that the depiction had popular appeal and resonance. 'This was a world in which religion, whatever else it taught about the relations between man and God, was a justification for war and a badge of identity'.²³ Thus uskok weapons were blessed by the clergy of Senj, pirate barks were sprinkled with holy water, and banners were deposited in the town's mendicant churches. Clerics accompanied the pirates on their raids and the name of Jesus was invoked as battle was joined with the Turks. Uskok leaders were acclaimed as champions of the faith and their dead portrayed as martyrs on its behalf.²⁴

As if to shock those who like their history to be straightforward, Dr Bracewell showed that a vigorous portrayal of the uskoks' war of

19. See in particular F. Szakály, 'The Hungarian-Croatian Border Defense System and its Collapse', in J.M. Bak and B.K. Király (eds.), *From Hunyadi to Rákóczi: War and Society in Late Medieval and Early Modern Hungary* (New York, 1982), pp. 141-58.

20. A. Kubinyi, 'The Road to Defeat: Hungarian Politics and Defense in the Jagiellonian Period', in *ibid.*, pp. 159-78.

21. After the battle of Mohács (1526), the situation was complicated by the need to reconstitute the frontier defences further north, by anti-Habsburg sentiments in 'Imperial Hungary', and by the spread of Calvinism.

22. C.W. Bracewell, *The Uskoks of Senj: Piracy, Banditry, and Holy War in the Sixteenth-Century Adriatic* (Ithaca – London, 1992), esp. Ch. 6 *passim*.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 303.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 158-60.

pillage against the Turks as holy could coexist with a highly pragmatic approach towards day-to-day relations with the Ottoman authorities. 'Necessity and ideology were constantly balanced against each other'.²⁵ Not only this, but the two sides had a great many cultural features in common, enjoyed ties of kinship, and entered into solemn acts of blood brotherhood (*pobratimstvo*) on an individual basis. A synod convened in 1579 even had to forbid Catholic priests to officiate at blood brotherhood rites between Christians and Muslims.²⁶ To complicate the situation still further, the religious aspect of uskoks ideology was accompanied by equally strong contributions made by political affiliations, social traditions, and a code of personal honour revolving around the achievement of renown and the avoidance of conduct which would bring disgrace.

Dr Bracewell's richly nuanced conclusions about Senj are potentially very important in relation to other frontiers marked by religious differences. Of course the Senj uskoks formed a rather special community, and it may have been exceptional in its world-view. But the fact that the uskoks were able to rely on widespread support amongst the rural population of the Dalmatian hinterland suggests that their view of their role commanded some sympathy there.²⁷ Moreover, this portrayal of Senj as a town in which holy war and *convivencia* were both vigorously present is very much in accord with recently published research on another frontier hundreds of miles and more than a century distant: the Prussian *Ordensstaat* and pagan Lithuania. It is therefore worth undertaking a brief excursion to Prussia before turning to the last major Mediterranean frontier society.

Nobody would deny the bellicosity of relations between the pagan Lithuanians and their Catholic neighbours in the fourteenth century, or the view on the Catholic side that the belligerents were engaged in a holy war. This was one of the most ruthlessly militarized frontiers in the late Middle Ages. Circumstances (especially weather) permitting, twice-yearly expeditions, the *Reisen*, were conducted against Lithuania by the Teutonic Knights with the keen assistance of their Western volunteers.²⁸ Smaller cross-frontier raids were constantly carried out by professional raiders (*latrunculi*) who were not unlike the uskoks, and many settlers in Prussia accepted regular military service in the East as

25. Ibid., p. 174.

26. Ibid., p. 182.

27. Ibid., pp. 191, 232.

28. Housley, *The Later Crusades*, pp. 339-44.

a condition of their land grants.²⁹ This warfare, moreover, was heavily sanctified. Participants in the summer and winter *Reisen* famously (or notoriously, to the Poles' way of thinking), set out on Marian feast-days, in much the same way that the Senj uskoks began their spring raids on the feast-day of their patron saint, St George.³⁰

But relations between the Prussian and Livonian authorities and the Lithuanians were far from being solely belligerent ones. Warfare was entangled in a complex partnership with trade and diplomacy. Rasa Mazeika has written persuasively of 'a [Catholic] world-view which could maintain an officially uncompromising hostility towards infidels while at the same time dealing with them as partners on the more practical plane of economic activity'.³¹ Desperate to secure regular access to the raw materials of the Russian interior, and excluded from more southerly routes by Polish hostility, the Teutonic Knights were even prepared to construct bridges within pagan territory to facilitate trade.³² Agreements were reached to exclude designated trade routes from warfare, as in 1338, when a *vredelant* ('zone of peace') was worked out in an agreement between Gediminas and the Order.³³ Trade, indeed, helped to provide the fiscal fuel which stoked the engines of war on both sides of the frontier: 'The crusaders and the crusaded-against needed each other to survive'.³⁴

As for diplomacy, it is clear from Dr S.C. Rowell's recent study of Lithuania in the first half of the fourteenth century that a high level of awareness existed on each side about the problems of the other, and how best to exploit them. Typical was the Lithuanian practice of launching raids against Prussia in mid-September, when they knew that

29. S.C. Rowell, *Lithuania Ascending: A Pagan Empire within East-Central Europe, 1295-1345* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 193, 201, 214, 241, 244, 245-6, 253, 259-60. On the vicious nature of hostilities, see S. Ekdahl, 'The Treatment of Prisoners of War during the Fighting between the Teutonic Order and Lithuania', in M. Barber (ed.), *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick* (Aldershot – Brookfield, VT, 1994), pp. 263-9.

30. For a Polish criticism of the practice, see S.F. Belch, *Paulus Vladimiri and his Doctrine Concerning International Law and Politics*, 2 vols. (The Hague, 1965), Vol. II, pp. 864-84, at 880. On St George and Senj, see Bracewell, *The Uskoks of Senj*, p. 264.

31. R. Mazeika, 'Of Cabbages and Knights: Trade and Trade Treaties with the Infidel on the Northern Frontier', *Journal of Medieval History*, 20 (1994), 63-76, with quote on p. 65.

32. Rowell, *Lithuania Ascending*, p. 256; Mazeika, 'Of Cabbages and Knights', 73.

33. Rowell, *Lithuania Ascending*, p. 257; Mazeika, 'Of Cabbages and Knights', 71.

34. Rowell, *Lithuania Ascending*, p. 261.

the Knights would be assembling in general chapter.³⁵ Vicious as the actual practice of warfare usually was, its planning was subtle and variegated, from the licensing of *latrunculi*, through selective military operations, to the creation of systems of alliances embracing Catholic, Orthodox, and non-Christian powers. To a large degree, the pagan Lithuanians were integrated into the politics of the eastern European world. Their marriage politics, and the astute use which they made of their trump card, the promise to convert, showed this clearly.³⁶ But this did not mean that the war ceaselessly waged against them by the Teutonic Knights was not regarded, by the serving brethren, Prussian colonists, and Western volunteers, as a war for the faith. Criticism of the Order's practices would have been less strident had these practices not been taken seriously by the various groups which observed them. The lesson of the fourteenth-century Baltic frontier is much the same as that of the sixteenth-century Senjian one: frontier societies were complicated, and the values they espoused defy analysis in simple terms.

It is now possible to compare these recent insights into frontier life in Dalmatia and Prussia with Granada, the most intensively studied of the late medieval frontiers between faiths. Reacting against the old view of a frontier constantly aflame with holy war, modern historians have tended to point to the extent of *convivencia*. This was practised in two very different guises. One took the neutral form of 'live-and-let-live' attitudes, epitomized by the range of ingenious peace-keeping mechanisms analysed by such scholars as Juan de Mata Carriazo and José Enrique López de Coca Castañer. Notably, these comprised the provisions of truces and the services of professional ransomers (*alfaques*), arbitrators for frontier incidents (*alcaldes entre los cristianos e los moros*), and adjudicators on the precise location of the frontier (*rastreros*).³⁷ Such mechanisms far exceeded what was available in fourteenth-century Prussia or Lithuania. The other guise took the more positive, some would say approbative form of cultural exchange. For example, in an important discussion of the Castilian frontier ballads, Professor Angus MacKay showed that these highly militant songs nearly all originated in times of official war between

35. *Ibid.*, p. 245.

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 91, 115 and Ch. 7 *passim*.

37. See especially J. de M. Carriazo, *En la frontera de Granada* (Seville, 1971); J.E. López de Coca Castañer, 'Institutions on the Castilian-Granadan Frontier 1369-1482', in R. Bartlett and A. MacKay (eds.), *Medieval Frontier Societies* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 127-50.

Castile and Granada (1406-10, 1430-39, and 1445-50). During the long stretches of peace which characterized Castilian-Granadan relations between 1350 and 1460 there were many more indications of 'good neighbourliness' and cultural exchange than of hostility.³⁸

'While the frontier world was at times undoubtedly affected by militancy and zeal, at other times the religious situation was also characterized by confusion, fluidity, and even tolerance and respect'.³⁹ There was, for example, the cult of San Ginés de la Jara, a saint venerated by Christians and Muslims alike.⁴⁰ Certainly cultural exchange reached a level of sophistication in southern Spain which was unique in late medieval frontiers between faiths, surpassing anything which occurred in, say, *Romania* or the Balkans. But as Professor MacKay has also demonstrated, alongside *convivencia* and 'acculturation' there flourished a frontier culture of holy war. This was much more than a dutiful reflection of the official ideology of the Reconquest, filtered through royal officials and the Church. It incorporated telling elements of the indigenous and particular. To a large degree, the culture was rooted in the lineage-*bandos* of the late-medieval Castilian aristocracy. It was communicated to young nobles through stirring tales of Roland, the crusades in the East, and the heroes of the Reconquest. Distinctively, it formed part of the message in pre-battle orations which were intended to raise morale. But it also reached beyond the aristocracy, infecting patterns of civic ceremonial and finding a secure niche in Marian devotion, which was very strong on the frontier.⁴¹ Indeed, 'the late medieval [Granadan] frontier was a Mariological one', and the religious banners which here, as in sixteenth-century Dalmatia or fourteenth-century Prussia, led men into battle, almost exclusively portrayed the Virgin.⁴²

The result was a by-now familiar situation. Thus we find that the inhabitants of Jerez de la Frontera, who regularly herded cattle across the frontier for sale, had elaborate arrangements with Granada for ransoming each other's captives, and even rented pasture land for their animals from their Moorish neighbours, could also organize prayers

38. A. MacKay, 'The Ballad and the Frontier in Late Medieval Spain', *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 53 (1976), 15-33.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 25-6.

41. A. MacKay, 'Religion, Culture and Ideology on the Late Medieval Castilian-Granadan Frontier', in Bartlett and MacKay (eds.), *Medieval Frontier Societies*, pp. 217-43, at 228-43.

42. *Ibid.*, pp. 230-31.

and processions in honour of the Virgin 'so that our lord God and the holy virgin Mary, and all the heavenly court, may grant victories against the Moors, enemies of the holy Catholic faith'.⁴³ Evidence of the same apparent double vision abounds in Pedro de Escavias's life of Miguel Lucas de Iranzo, the renowned constable of Castile. The constable entertained Moorish envoys at Jaen with relaxed and courteous bonhomie during Carnival in 1463, and dressed 100 of his men as Moors (complete with false beards), for amateur dramatics the following Christmas. Yet at other times Miguel was deadly serious in his raiding against 'the enemies of our holy faith', and he had the severed heads of two Moors dragged around the streets of Andújar in 1470.⁴⁴

On the Granadan frontier, as elsewhere, crusade and *convivencia* coexisted, in ways which must sometimes have made life difficult, but at other times evinced harmony and even symbiosis. The same wagons used to carry the severed heads of the enemy may well have served on other occasions to transport merchandise for sale across the frontier.⁴⁵ More seriously, historians have repeatedly pointed out that the practice of chivalry demanded a foe who was not just able but noble after his manner, and such 'frontier texts' as the life of Miguel Lucas de Iranzo are rich in chivalric values. In fact it appears increasingly strange that historians have insisted on an either/or approach towards the two modes of frontier behaviour. In so doing they have demanded of late medieval society a degree of homogeneity they would not expect to be present in other periods. Perhaps, seeing the high premium which was placed on uniformity in the Middle Ages, they have assumed that it corresponded to reality. But in practice the inconsistencies of human behaviour and belief were probably as deep as in any age.

It would appear that the three assumptions stated earlier are all without much foundation in relation to the frontiers which we have looked at. None of them dissected a zone of rich arable land, so it is not possible to say how frontier relations would have been shaped in these circumstances. But in the case of none of our frontiers was there a tendency for trade and crusade to be polarized, at least not over a long-term perspective. This is indeed based on a false dichotomy between the merchant and the crusader, and their supposedly contrasting mentalities of peacefulness and bellicosity: a dichotomy which has

43. *Ibid.*, p. 238.

44. J. de M. Carriazo (ed.), *Hechos del condestable don Miguel Lucas de Iranzo (Crónica del siglo XV)* (Madrid, 1940), pp. 98-100, 109-12, 417-18.

45. See Held, *Hunyadi*, p. 129, for wagons loaded with severed heads in 1448, and p. 235 for trading rights for both Hungarian and Turkish merchants a year later.

bedevilled medieval history for too long and should be firmly discarded. Trade between communities locked by religious differences into a condition of permanent cold war was commonplace. All stood to gain from it and few if any serious attempts were made to ban it. On the Catholic side, it is true, it was everywhere characterized by a papal veto on the export of war *matériel*, whether narrowly or broadly defined: a veto which provided the Senj uskoks with a useful justification for attacking Christian as well as Muslim traders, on the basis that they were infringing papal rules.⁴⁶

Granada would appear to show that stable frontiers tended to engender *convivencia*, but chiefly in the limited sense of mechanisms for making life easier, and certainly not to the exclusion of an accompanying bellicosity.⁴⁷ Nor were all stable frontiers characterized by such peacemaking mechanisms. The cross-frontier raiding practised by both sides in southern Hungary in the late fifteenth century was so incessant and savage that it reduced the frontier zone to a wilderness incapable of supporting even the men who guarded it.⁴⁸ As for the role of military orders in creating an atmosphere of holy war, the discrepancy between the prevalent ethos on the Prussian and Rhodian frontiers makes such a generalization hazardous. Certainly the international military orders were expected to 'earn their keep', and this normally included taking part in the crusading movement, but both the expectations and the resulting behaviour varied considerably from period to period and region to region. There were occasions when the conduct of hostilities by a military order offended rather than pleased, as in the case of the master of Alcántara's foray into Granada in 1394.⁴⁹

This is not to suggest a full-scale retreat from the idea of a typology of religious war on the frontier. Some differences can be attributed to general factors, as opposed to the intricate and unpredictable interaction of local circumstances. In the first place, it would be wrong to overlook the influence of the attitude prevailing on the other side. In the case of our frontiers the non-Catholic side was uniformly characterized by a deep consciousness of the religious divide, and by a militancy

46. Bracewell, *The Uskoks of Senj*, p. 213. Cf. Mazeika, 'Of Cabbages and Knights', 66-70; López de Coca Castañer, 'Castilian-Granadan Frontier Institutions', 142.

47. As MacKay has noted, the presence of 'hinge men' may have indicated the reverse of *convivencia*, in so far as they enabled Christians and Muslims to avoid personal contacts. See his 'The Ballad and the Frontier', 25.

48. Kubinyi, 'The Road to Defeat', 160, 171.

49. López de Coca Castañer, 'Castilian-Granadan Frontier Institutions', 128.

which took the form of 'holy war'. Indeed, in the case of Granada, the Anatolian emirates, and in particular the Ottoman sultanate, the official ideology was one of *jihād*, and on occasion this was pursued with fervour.⁵⁰ It is not unreasonable to assume that this triggered a similar response on the Christian side, confirming the view, which was deeply rooted culturally in any case, that they were engaged in a perpetual war for their faith. But it would be rash to exaggerate this impact. As late as the mid-fifteenth century Catholics still held very strange ideas about Islam's basic tenets, so it is doubtful whether the implications of the Muslim commitment to combat with the *Dar el-Harb* were widely grasped even in frontier communities such as those of Andalusia, with their plethora of trading links and other contacts with nearby Muslims.

Rather, it is likely that developments and ideas on the Christian side of the frontier were primarily responsible for the forging of religious attitudes, as indeed they had been throughout crusading history. In a period marked out by the growing power of the state, it is perhaps not surprising that the views of the political authorities counted for a great deal, more than the concept of the frontier as a *de facto* autonomous region ('the wild frontier') might lead us to expect. If one reason for the absence of an ethos of holy war in *Romania* was the indistinctness of the religious frontier there, another surely was the fact that one of the region's leading political authorities, Venice, traditionally preferred negotiations to the use of force, except in very closely controlled circumstances, such as those which attended the fourteenth-century naval leagues. At the other extreme, it is highly likely that the main reason for the strength of the holy war idea in Prussia was the impetus given to it by the Teutonic Order, which invested in it a formidable organizational finesse. Even in the case of Granada, it has been suggested that much of the frontier warfare which used to be viewed as local in origin was in reality orchestrated by the Castilian Crown. This was quite clear, for instance, in the case of an expedition against Álora in 1434; this was later celebrated in a frontier ballad which omitted any reference to King John II's initiation of the campaign.⁵¹

50. See D. Urvoy, 'Sur l'évolution de la notion de "gihad" dans l'Espagne musulmane', *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, 9 (1973), 335-71; E.A. Zachariadou, 'Holy War in the Aegean during the Fourteenth Century', in B. Arbel et al. (eds.), *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204* (London, 1989), pp. 212-25; C. Imber, 'The Ottoman Dynastic Myth', *Turcica*, 19 (1987), 7-27.

51. MacKay, 'The Ballad and the Frontier', 20-21. The ballad was translated by Roger Wright in *Spanish Ballads* (Warminster, 1987), pp. 107-8.

Even in those instances when religious war on the frontier was genuinely local in origin and direction, it was often linked to the hope of drawing on the resources of the interior, whether construed in national terms or in those of *Christianitas*.⁵² Scanderbeg's tortuous relations with the papacy form a good example of this,⁵³ but in the case of Granada it is striking how often, during the fifteenth century, the frontier authorities looked to the Crown for help, demanding a resumption of the Reconquest which they depicted as the Crown's sacred duty. Leverage could be applied, for example through the rebellious barons who saw King Henry IV's neglect of the frontier as one of his chief failings.⁵⁴ Given the degree of political sophistication attained in this period, it may be just as foolish to expect to find a wholly apolitical culture of holy war, on any frontier, as to demand a black and white distinction between religious war and *convivencia*. Even the rough-and-ready uskoks showed a high level of political subtlety in their handling of the Catholic powers which were most important to them, the Habsburgs, Venice, and the papacy.⁵⁵

Here lies a partial answer to the question of how an ethos or expectation of holy war became a fully-fledged crusade. The frontier lords or communities could themselves request it, as in 1449, when Pope Nicholas V authorized a frontier crusade led by Juan Cervantes, the archbishop of Seville, in response to 'Saracen' attacks on Catholic lands. According to the papal bull, the crusade was arousing considerable enthusiasm amongst the people of Seville.⁵⁶ Similarly, in 1471 Miguel Lucas de Iranzo wrote to the Pope beseeching the grant of a crusade because civil war in Castile left the frontier exposed to Moorish onslaught. The constable was no political *ingénu*; he was capable of matching the flights of rhetoric which would emanate from the Catholic Monarchs a few years later. 'And since for our part we are contributing all our possessions, our women, our children, our relatives, our freedom, our country, and in the end our very lives, other Christians

52. Much the same applied to the Muslims. See, for example, the desperate but pointed Granadan appeal to Sultan Bayezid II, in J.T. Monroe (ed.), *Hispano-Arabic Poetry: A Student Anthology* (Berkeley – Los Angeles – London, 1974), pp. 376-88.

53. F. Pall, 'I rapporti italo-albanesi intorno alla metà del secolo XV', *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, 3rd ser., 3 (1964), 123-226.

54. MacKay, 'The Ballad and the Frontier', 29-30.

55. Bracewell, *The Uskoks of Senj*, pp. 210-11.

56. J. Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la Bula de la cruzada en España* (Vitoria, 1958), pp. 647-9.

should at least contribute a little money for the most sacred protection not of one individual, but of Christendom itself'.⁵⁷

Alternatively the central authorities could travel the same route, either because they had received similar pleas from the frontier, or, as happened more frequently, because it suited their own political objectives. Rulers like John Hunyadi and Matthias Corvinus in Hungary, or John II and Henry IV in Castile, had a fair understanding of what the crusade was worth. If at Senj none of the fighting appears to have attained crusading status, this was presumably because the town was on a permanent war footing, and there were no extra resources which might have been brought into play by the issue of crusade bulls. Venice, which was harassed by the uskoks almost as much as the Turks were, would in any case have tried to block such a move, except on those few occasions when uskoks entered the Republic's own service against the Ottomans.⁵⁸ And in the case of the most dynamic of all religious frontiers, that in the New World, the major Catholic conquests were achieved too rapidly for the mechanism of crusade to be deployed.

Although it has been my intention here to ask rather than to answer questions, one or two final observations may not be rash. It is easy to forget that those living on frontiers in this period, as perhaps at any time, had to look two ways: in front of them and behind. To some extent they undoubtedly constructed their self-images and shaped their conduct towards their neighbours with a view to making their lives as easy as possible, and this could mean different things at different periods. At the same time, however, their position and role meant that they were particularly susceptible to the powerful pull of the past in the shape of tradition and expectation. These operated chiefly at the social level. As individuals, some dwellers on the frontiers were no doubt by nature pragmatists and others idealists. But when these individuals functioned within their communities, in their lineages, towns or regions, parishes or dioceses, differences of religion often could not be ignored. They mattered, shaping thinking and behaviour and at times even dictating response.

57. De M. Carriazo, (ed.), *Hechos del condestable*, pp. 469-75, with quote on 475.

58. Bracewell, *The Uskoks of Senj*, pp. 200-201. The popes did send Senj money, grain supplies, and moral encouragement: *ibid.*, p. 158.

Jews and Muslims in Medieval Genoa: From the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century

Georges Jehel

One of the characteristics of Mediterranean urban society is its cosmopolitanism. Mediterranean port cities in particular tend to be cosmopolitan, especially when the nature of their trade and the contacts they have both in the East and the West have led these cities constantly to expand their international networks. Genoa must be included together with a few other large metropolises, such as Constantinople, Venice, Naples, and Palermo for, at the centre of the Ligurian coastal region, between the eleventh and the fifteenth century it built up a vast commercial hub covering the entire Mediterranean from the Black Sea to Gibraltar. To the crafts and industrial production which attracted the population of the periphery and the hinterland, from the Apennine mountains and beyond Piedmont to the plain of Lombardy and the Po, the Ligurian metropolis soon added trade, shipbuilding, and the financial instruments developed in Genoa in conjunction with its economic expansion. Since an essential condition for this orientation was applying policies to ensure and advance Genoa's major interests, the Genoese government always tried to develop complex diplomatic policies aimed at forming the alliances it needed to pursue its ambitions. This policy was bearing fruit from the late twelfth century onwards, making Genoa a powerful pole of attraction for merchants, ambassadors, shipbuilders, craftsmen, and also for a swarm of workmen, handymen, and adventurers of all sorts vying for the opportunities offered by the port and its offshoot warehouses up and down the *Ripa Maris*. On these bases, municipal institutions and ways of thinking soon adapted to welcoming foreign communities into the

This article was translated by Judith Roumani.

fondachi and *loggie*, where they could participate in transactions and negotiations made possible by places to meet and opportunities for exchange. The main groups were Italians, Catalans, Provençals, Burgundians, and Germans.

After the mid-twelfth century and increasingly so in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, like Venice, Pisa, Marseilles, and Barcelona, also Genoa tried to obtain territorial concessions, landing rights, and trading posts in Syria, the Maghreb, al-Andalus, and the Black Sea. Like other cities, Genoa installed durable communities of Genoese originating from the metropolis and developed economic and socio-cultural links with the local populations. Genoese society had opened up to the world due to various motives, among which material interests were difficult to distinguish from intellectual curiosity and techniques liable to enrich both utilitarian and disinterested forms of knowledge. This society managed to develop familiarity with distant worlds, which certainly contributed to giving it a high level of culture and the ability to absorb and assimilate.¹ We find signs of this in modes of behaviour, dress, and onomastics, where the influence of the Byzantine and Muslim East is apparent. Traces can be found in architecture, interior and exterior decoration, and various aspects of daily life.² Notarial sources provide a useful complement to the documentation concerning the cosmopolitanism of medieval Genoese society and the cultural implications which followed. Both older and more recent research deserves to be developed and will certainly prove fruitful, particularly that concerning the Muslim and Jewish communities whose presence has already been clearly demonstrated.³

The presence of Western Muslims in Genoa is easily explicable when one considers the various links which had been established with

1. On these aspects see R.S. Lopez, *Storia delle colonie genovesi nel Mediterraneo* (Bologna, 1938); see also G. Pitarino, *La capitale del Mediterraneo: Genova nel medioevo* (Bordighera, 1993).
2. Cf. L.T. Belgrano, *Della vita privata dei Genovesi* (Genoa, 1876, repr. Rome, 1970); J. Heers, 'Urbanisme et structures sociales à Gênes au Moyen Age', in *Studi in onore di A. Fanfani*, Vol. I (Milan, 1962); G.B. Pellegrini, 'Contributo allo studio dell'influsso linguistico arabo in Liguria', *Miscellanea storica ligure*, 2 (1961), 17-95.
3. See C. Roth, 'Genoese Jews in the Thirteenth Century', *Speculum*, 25 (1950), 190-97; V. Slessarev, 'I cosiddetti Orientali nella Genova del Medioevo immigrati dalla Francia meridionale nella città ligure', *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, NS 7, No. 1 (Genoa, 1967), 41-85; G. Jehel, 'Les Génois en Méditerranée Occidentale (fin XI^e - début XIV^e siècle)', Centre d'histoire des sociétés, Univ. de Picardie (Amiens - Paris, 1993).

Maghrebian states and with al-Andalus between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries. After a century of conflicts, running roughly from 950 to 1150, there followed a phase of relative understanding during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which, however, was occasionally disturbed by outbursts of serious tension due to the resurgence of the crusading impulse, particularly in 1270 and 1389. One may well say that, on a basis of mutual distrust, contacts between Genoa and the Western Muslim states were kept up with some regularity but also with a certain precariousness due to the context of competition and piracy, one of the basic phenomena of the medieval Mediterranean. The contacts can be perceived on several levels.

The diplomatic activity which the Genoese practised in the Maghreb corresponded to a similar Maghrebian activity in Genoa itself. Though the inadequate documentation which one encounters makes it impossible to reach definitive conclusions, and though they may be rare, the traces of these missions which have come down to us deserve to be pointed out. For example, an envoy of the Tunisian government visited Genoa in 1238. His name was given a Latin form, *Bubranus messaticus Regis Tunexis*, and he came with an interpreter in order to negotiate the purchase of a ship worth 12,000 bezants, owned by a high-born Genoese whose name may also indicate some kind of Arabic connection: Nicoloso de Maraboto.⁴ Circumstances like these, of which we find other indications,⁵ directly raise a fundamental problem in Christian-Muslim relations, that of linguistic communication. Numerous diplomatic sources assure us that interpreting was a quasi-official function all around the Mediterranean basin. Research on the Genoese community in Tunis⁶ leads one to think that the Genoese may have spoken Arabic less frequently than the Pisans⁷ and that the Genoese preferred to use an interpreter who, in this case, would be either a Tunisian or a Pisan. But we should not jump to the conclusion that nothing was done in Genoa to encourage knowledge of the Arabic language and culture. We encounter some elements of bilingualism, as, for example, in the case of Moses, a Jew, who was indicated in 1247

4. Archivio di Stato di Genova (hereafter ASG), Notai, min. 15, fol. 125r.

5. E. Dufourq, 'Aperçu sur le commerce entre Gênes et le Maghrib au XIII siècle', in *Mélanges offerts à E. Perroy* (Paris, 1973), pp. 721-36.

6. G. Jehel, 'Catalogue analytique et chronologique des actes du notaire *Petrus Batifolius*, rédigés à Tunis du 20 décembre 1288 au 24 juin 1289', *Les Cahiers du Tunisie*, 25, Nos. 99-100 (1977), 69-137.

7. M. Amari, *Diplomi arabi del real archivio fiorentino* (Florence, 1863), suppl. 1887.

with the title of *scriba litterarum sarracinarum*,⁸ or Asmet, apparently a Maghrebian, who exercised the function of *scriba communis Janue de litteris sarracenis*,⁹ or Ahmād ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān, who was distinguished in 1274 as a *scriba lingua sarracenicæ communis Janue*, from among a group of Maghrebians who had been present in Genoa since 1250.¹⁰ We know that there was also some teaching of Arabic, since in 1267 a professor of Arabic, *magister de litteris sarracenis*, was employed by the Commune.¹¹ But the presence of Muslims was also attested to by merchants from Ifrīqyah or Morocco who travelled between the Maghreb, al-Andalus, the Balearic Islands, and Genoa. This undermines the idea which has sometimes been put forward that Muslim merchants did not venture into Christian lands.¹² One can even hypothesize that some of them, like the merchant named Aziz, who had died in Genoa and the inventory of whose possessions has come down to us, had settled in Genoa.¹³

It is quite certain, though, that the majority of Muslims living in Genoa were slaves either by status or origin. This was due partly to the general practice of slavery in urban Mediterranean centres as a usual source of manpower, and partly to the fact that Genoa swiftly imposed itself as one of the most important slave markets in the West.¹⁴ It is

8. ASG, *Notai*, min. 34, fol. 27v, 124v, 195r.

9. Ibid., min. 82, fol. 242r.

10. M.G. Canale, *Nuova istoria della repubblica di Genova* (Florence, 1860), Vol. II, p. 352.

11. Library of the University of Genoa, Manuscripts Section, *Trattati antichi*, b. 9, 17, 3rd report.

12. For example, M. de Epalza in ‘Attitude politique de Tunis dans le conflit entre Aragonais et Français en Sicile autour de 1282’, *La società mediterranea all’epoca del Vespro* (Palermo, 1983), Vol. 2, pp. 579-601, writes, on p. 596, that the Tunisians did not want to run any risks by venturing into Christian lands. Against this point of view, and with refs. concerning these travels, see Dufourq, ‘Aperçu’, 728-30. The opinion expressed by Epalza is even more challengeable, since most of the treaties concluded between Genoa and Tunis explicitly provided for protection of Tunisian merchants in Genoa, in accordance with the norms of reciprocity usually applied in international agreements. See Jehel, *Les Génois*, pp. 371-3, containing a 1272 text mentioning that Muslims must be protected in Genoa and in all its dependent territories: ‘Item Sarraceni salventur et custodientur Janue et in districtu Janue’.

13. Dufourq, ‘Aperçu’, 729.

14. On the general theme of slavery in the Mediterranean, see the broad synthesis by C. Verlinden, *L’esclavage dans l’Europe méditerranéenne* (Bruges – Ghent, 1955 and 1977), and more recently J. Heers’ study, *Esclaves et domestiques dans le monde méditerranéen* (Paris, 1981). For the Genoa region itself, see L. Tria, ‘La schiavitù in Liguria’, *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*,

difficult, though, to differentiate between slaves originating from the Orient, Africa, or Andalusia. Often some mention accompanying an individual's identity allows us to do so, but some doubts persist. In general, these are slaves in the full sense of the term. But there were also freed persons, leading one to suppose that some of them had settled in Genoa. The question of religious identification of course remains problematic. The inaccurate terminology of the period groups all individuals under the label *sarracenus* or *sarracena*, even in cases of persons who are said to have been converted to Christianity. Moreover, while a great number of them bore typically Muslim names, such as 'Alī, Sa'id, Aḥmād, Muḥammad, Sālim, 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān, 'Abd' Allah, Ibrāhīm, 'Būlqāsim, Bashīr, Busa'd, or Mass'ūdah, others had been rebaptized and bore usual Christian names: Guglielmo, Giovannino, Micheleto. Further ambiguities are sometimes added to these uncertainties: For example, *Baxilus* could have been of Greek origin if he had not been the son of Mass'ūdah.¹⁵

The identification of female slaves shows that Christianization was more systematic than with males. Almost all women had Christian names, a version of Maria being the most common. There are, however, a few oriental names such as Asia and its variants. The typically Muslim name of Fatima sometimes appears.

The slave population of Maghrebian or Andalusian origin which has been detected in notarial documents between 1159 and 1280 amounts to about 100 people. There are about an equal number of men and women. Their geographical origins can only be roughly indicated: Ifriqyah and al-Andalus for the most part. It is sometimes possible to be more precise. One enfranchised slave, called Maomet,¹⁶ originally from Mostaganem through his father, *Bombachi Benaied de Mestaganino*, may have been partly Kabyle through his mother, *Gimella de Arabis de Cabila Benieiei*. This thirteenth-century indication should be emphasized, because generally the term Kabyle is

70 (1947); G. Petti B, 'La schiavitù a Genova nei secoli XII-XIII', *Mélanges offerts à R. Crozet* (Poitiers, 1966), pp. 1025-29; R. Delort, 'Quelques précisions sur le commerce des esclaves à Gênes dans la seconde moitié du XIII^e siècle', *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome*, 78 (1966), 215-50; M. Balard, 'Remarques sur les esclaves à Gênes dans la seconde moitié du XIII^e siècle', *ibid.*, 80 (1968), 627-80; D. Gioffrè, *Il mercato degli schiavi a Genova del secolo XV* (Genoa, 1971).

15. ASG, *Notai*, min. 6, fol. 293v.

16. ASG, *Notai ignoti*, b. 6, fragment 72.

thought not to have been in use earlier than the sixteenth century. In any case, this reading is a possibility rather than a certainty, since the primary meaning of the term 'cabila' is the more general one of 'tribe'.

*Documented Geographical Origin
of Western Mediterranean Slaves Present in Genoa
between 1239 and 1288*

	Male	Female
Algeciras		1
Almería		1
Bougie		1
Ceuta		1
Denia		1
Elche	1	
Spain		1
Granada		1
Jativa	1	2
Majorca	1	
Málaga		2
Murcia	1	5
Naucleria		1
Saragossa		1
Seville	1	
Tunis	1	3
Valencia	5	4

The documentation from the thirteenth century tells us little about the professional activities of these workers, but is more informative for the fifteenth century. There is no doubt that slave labour, especially male manpower, can be correlated with economic expansion and the rise in urban living standards in the West, whether in Naples, Seville, Barcelona, or Genoa, even if it was mainly women who did domestic work.¹⁷ However, the more diffuse socio-cultural influences are not negligible. The common practice of emancipation, or manumission, encouraged freed Muslims to integrate and merge with Genoese society, in which forms of rejection were greatly attenuated. Obviously, the exception to this is the case of escaped captives who were sometimes enrolled as crew on ships, but this belongs to another set of issues.

17. Heers, *Esclaves et domestiques*, pp. 141-4, 199-204.

* * *

The presence of a Jewish community in Genoa should be approached in different terms. On the basis of some remarks made by Benjamin of Tudela, its importance has always been minimized. Without challenging this point of view, there may perhaps be room to revise it up to a point.¹⁸ There were opportunities in Genoa for Jews involved in international trade, a fact which might justify giving more importance to the consistency of Jewish settlement in Genoa than is generally accepted.¹⁹ It is astonishing that there has been an attempt to justify the relative weakness of the Jewish presence in Genoa by the explanation that the Genoese always tried to keep away anyone who threatened to compete with them in commerce. But it would be difficult to understand why they would accept the presence of merchants from Piacenza or Siena, towns whose fierce rivalry Genoa encountered everywhere, while with regard to Jews they would show more hostility than the staunchly Catholic kingdom of Aragon and Valencia, which always managed to benefit from the Jews' various skills.²⁰ The discreetness of the Jewish presence in Genoa stems at least partly from the condition of the sources, which probably led to the supposition that there was no synagogue in the thirteenth century, while one is attested to in the sixth century,²¹ when the rights of this community were also

18. On Benjamin of Tudela see M.N. Adler, 'The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela', *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 16 (1904), 453-73. To the well-known works of B. Blumenkrantz and S.D. Goitein, and the two vols. of the *Settimane di Spoleto*, *Gli Ebrei nell'Alto Medioevo* (Spoleto, 1980), should be added the special issue of *Provence Historique: La famille juive au Moyen Age*, No. 150 (Oct.-Nov. 1987). On Jewish life in medieval Genoa, see M. Stagliano, 'Degli Ebrei in Genova', *Giornale ligure di Archeologia, Storia e Belle Arti*, 3 (1876), 173-86, 394-415; C. Brizzolari, *Gli Ebrei nella storia di Genova* (Genoa, 1971), reviewed in 'Per la storia degli Ebrei a Genova', in *La Berio*, No. 2 (1972), 8-17. More information can be found in G. Jehel, *Les Génois*, pp. 210-14.
19. R. Brunschvig, *La Berberie orientale sous les Hafsides, des origines au XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1940-47), Vol. I, pp. 396-430; and S.D. Goitein, 'La Tunisie du XI^e siècle à la lumière des documents de la Genizah du Caire', *Etudes d'Orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal* (Paris, 1962), pp. 559-80; C.E. Dufourcq, 'Vers la Méditerranée orientale et l'Afrique', *XI Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón* (Saragossa, 1979), pp. 7-88.
20. C.E. Dufourcq, *L'Espagne catalane et le Maghrib aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles* (Paris, 1966), pp. 139-44; J. Guiral, 'L'apport des communautés juives et musulmanes au commerce maritime de Valence au XV^e siècle', *Actes du XI^e congrès d'histoire économique méditerranéenne* (Athens, 1985), pp. 461-74.
21. Roth, 'Genoese Jews'.

recognized by Theodoric.²² It would seem that, while there may have been some eclipses in the community's continuity, there was no breakdown. Vito Vitale, the great Genoese historian, observed the development of the old Jewish colony in the twelfth century.²³ Just as legislation favourable to the Jews was introduced to northern France in the ninth century with the *Praeceptum Judeorum* granted by Louis the Pious and extended to all merchants by the *Jus mercatorum*,²⁴ the Genoese consular decree of 1134 defines the conditions under which Jews could stay in Genoa upon payment of a tax of three *solidi* for the illumination of the Cathedral of San Lorenzo.²⁵ It is in any case only after 1200 that one can really sense the existence of a solid Jewish community in Genoa. But there is still room for confusion. Cecil Roth lists a dozen individuals with some doubts about their Jewish identity, which allows him to suggest that many Jews have been missed by the previous research, due to ambiguities in the spelling of their names and resulting homonyms. Nevertheless, an overly broad interpretation has led to misconceptions which have given rise to a well-known debate.²⁶

Regarding the business activities of Jews, there is no doubt that they were more often linked to international rather than local trade. This confirms the cohesion of the Mediterranean Jewish community and the role of Jews as intermediaries in inter-city relations. For example, Trencherio Ismael, who was apparently Genoese, described himself as an agent and solicitor when he leased the house of a Genoese to a Florentine. He also interceded with the Commune of Genoa on behalf of three sailors from Marseilles who were claiming what was due to them for service performed in the Genoese navy in Romania.²⁷ One of these sailors seemed to have connections with Hyères: *Guillelmus Auriac de Marsilia sive de Here*. One Jewish merchant who was very active in Genoa where he was living at this time was also in

22. *Cassiodori senatoris variae*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Auctoris Antiquissimi, Vol. II, No. 27 and Vol. IV, No. 33.

23. V. Vitale, *Breviario della storia di Genova, lineamenti storici et orientamenti bibliografici* (Genoa, 1955), Vol. II, p. 2.

24. A. Chedeville, 'De la cité à la ville', in *La ville médiévale des Carolingiens à la Renaissance*, Histoire de la France urbaine, Vol. II (Paris, 1980), p.131.

25. *Liber Jurium Reipublicae Genuensis* (Turin, 1854), Vol. I, col. 47, No. 36.

26. Slessarev, 'I cosidetti'. According to Slessarev, some individuals identified as Jews due to their oriental-sounding names — Solimano di Salerne, Salomone Blanco, Rinaldo de Saraphia — were really Christians of Provençal origin.

27. ASG, *Notai*, min. 64, fols. 42v and 45r.

contact with Hyères and Toulon: *Paratus Judeus Aaris de Telone* was mentioned in connection with a transaction involving salt.²⁸ The salt trade between Genoa and the region of Toulon and Hyères was very active²⁹ and the Genoese had ancient ties with the salt-beds of Hyères and the Lérins Islands.³⁰ This activity, however, was diversified. *Vitalis Negrelius Judeus* gave a power of attorney in Marseilles to a resident of the city, *Johanes Lambertus*, to claim his share of the profit on a commercial operation carried out together with a citizen of Narbonne, *Petrus de Sancta Nunciata*.³¹ Relations between Genoese Jews and Provence were thus very close. The scope of Genoese Jewish business operations, however, was certainly not limited to Provence. Several Jewish merchants were active in the wheat trade between Genoa, Sicily, and Majorca, where there were important Jewish communities.³² The fact that such transactions were concluded in Genoa, in the presence of Genoese notaries, with Jews originating outside Genoa, underlines the importance of the Jews of Genoa in international trading networks. On 22 April 1259 Josef, a *Judeus* of Naples, borrowed 50 pounds *in commenda* from Abroe Saterdone.³³ On 4 July 1262 *Xabo, Judeus de Gareta* — probably Gaetà — exchanged some unspecified amounts of foreign currency.³⁴ On 15 August 1271 Giovanni Ismael of Genoa bought wheat from Abraham de Tortosa.³⁵ On 13 February 1274 Josefe Corfe de Tortosa bought wheat from Colombo de Tortosa. Some time later, in June, another merchant from Tortosa, Isaac Anicara, purchased wheat and ginger.³⁶

Thus trade represents the essence of what the sources tell us about Jewish activity in Genoa. There is some indication that, as in many other regions, Jews were also active in crafts. An apprentice, Giovanni *Judeo*, was working in the workshop of a soap-maker, Giovanni *de*

28. Ibid., min. 33, fol. 13.

29. R.S. Lopez, *L'attività economica di Genova nel marzo 1253, secondo gli atti notarili del tempo* (Genoa, 1935), pp. 242-8.

30. Jehel, *Les Génois*, pp. 45-6.

31. ASG, *Notai*, min. 21/1, fol. 175v.

32. H. Bresc, *Un monde méditerranéen, économie et société en Sicile, 1300-1450* (Rome and Palermo, 1986), Vol. II, pp. 628-42; for Majorca, see A. Milano, *Storia degli Ebrei in Italia* (Turin, 1963), pp. 218-19. See also P. Macaire, 'Majorque et la Méditerranée, environ 1400-1450', thesis submitted to University of Paris IV, Sorbonne, 1985.

33. ASG, *Notai*, min. 34, fols. 243-4.

34. ASG, *Notai ignoti*, b. 8.

35. ASG *Notai*, min. 70, fol. 69r.

36. Ibid., min. 73, fols. 53r-54r.

Magdalena who, though it is not stated specifically, may also have been Jewish.³⁷ Jews are known to have played an important role in soap distribution from Savona and Marseilles.³⁸ *Arenacerius* Ismael, who leased a shop to a Genoese potter, may himself have been a potter.³⁹ While the role of Jews in the Genoese economy can be well observed in Genoa itself, it is also a constant which can be verified, from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, across the whole Genoese Mediterranean network, and especially in the eastern trading posts — Chios, Caffa, and Pera.⁴⁰

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Their professional activity represents only one of the ways in which the Jews or Muslims were integrated into the life of the city. There are many other forms of socio-cultural integration tied to the Genoese context. The first to consider is the intellectual environment whose importance is sometimes minimized, but which should be perceived in its full reality.⁴¹

In a general sense, for practical reasons as much as by intellectual inclination, the Genoese have always shown the greatest curiosity about both the Muslim world and Jewish civilization. The archival sources preserve many instances of this curiosity. The library of the University of Genoa holds several original manuscripts and Arabic or Latin copies dating from the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries: Rabbi Samuel's *Epistola translata de arabico in latinum per fratrem Alfonsum* . . . ,⁴² Ḥafsān 'Alī Magribī's work on jurisprudence in Arabic,⁴³ Ḥafsān Mukhtār's Arabic treatise on food,⁴⁴ Abu Ḥafsān 'Alī's autobiography in Arabic,⁴⁵ Abu Bakr Muḥammad ibn

37. Ibid., min. 32, fol. 114v.

38. Roth, 'Genoese Jews', p. 197, n. 26.

39. ASG *Notai*, min. 83, fol. 145v.

40. J. Heers, *Gênes au XV^e siècle, activité économique et problèmes sociaux* (Paris, 1962), p. 386; M. Balard, *La Romanie génoise, XII^e – début du XV^e siècle* (Rome and Genoa, 1978), pp. 278-9.

41. G. Jehel, 'Le marchand génois un homme de culture', in *Le marchand au Moyen Age, Actes du XIX^e Congrès de la SHMES* (Reims, 1988; Saint-Herblain, 1992), pp. 189-94.

42. Ms. A III-35.

43. Ms. A IV-2.

44. Ms. F VII-10.

45. Ms. F VI-10.

Zakkariyya's Arabic treatise on medicine.⁴⁶ The Berio Municipal Library preserves a register containing eighteenth-century copies of treaties concluded between Genoa and several Muslim territories: Tripoli, Beirut, Tyre, and Tunis.⁴⁷ Several bilingual treaties are kept in the *Archivio Segreto* of the State Archives, for example treaties dating from 1181 and 1188 between Genoa and the Almoravides of Majorca.⁴⁸ We find fragments of Arabic writings in the register of the Genoese notary, Giovanni Scriba.⁴⁹ The Church of Santa Maria di Castello in Genoa contains a Kufic bas-relief of uncertain origin and date but which, like the other texts, witnesses to the intensity of relations between Genoa and Muslim civilization.⁵⁰

Evidence which is no less convincing exists regarding relations between the Genoese and Jewish culture. The most obvious concerns the *disputationes* which took place in Ceuta in 1179 between the Genoese Guglielmo Alfachino and the Jew, Moyse Abraym, and in Majorca between Inghetto Contardo and the scholars of the *aljama*, Mosse David and Astruc Isaias.⁵¹ These situations show that the general culture of Genoese business circles extended to some Hebrew culture acquired through reading and through regular contacts with the Jewish élite present in all the large towns of the Mediterranean world. Biblical literature was diffused though the circulation of books which educated Jews collected in their libraries. One example is provided by the sale of the library of one *Mainus* of Genoa who sold to a Pisan a lot consisting of 50 books, including a copy of the Pentateuch, the Psalms, and the Book of Prophets.⁵²

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46. Ms. F VII-10.

47. Ms. B VII-18.

48. ASG, *Materie Politiche*, B 18 D.

49. ASG, *Notai*, min. 1, fols. 167 and 169, and Jehel, *Les Génois*, pp. 435-8.

50. A stone engraved with a Koranic text has been dated to the end of the 11th century by A. Amari in *Nuovi ricordi arabici sulla storia di Genova* (Genoa, 1873), pp. 561-635. It would thus be a remainder of the booty won during the expedition against Mahdiya in 1087-88.

51. G. Dahan, *Inghetto Contardo: La controverse avec les juifs* (Paris, 1993).

52. ASG, *Notai*, min. 18 II, fol. 109v. This document was studied by Roth in 'Genoese Jews' and by G.G. Musso, in 'Documenti su Genova e gli Ebrei tra il Quattro e il Cinquecento', *Rassegna mensile di Israel*, 36 (1970), 1.

Taken together, these bits of information explain the absence of tensions between Jews and Christians which is generally recognized in Genoa in the Middle Ages. Two examples illustrate this.

The first concerns a Jew, *Pasinus*, who married the daughter of a Genoese Christian, Nicolo de Avanno. By a notarial act dated 24 February 1276, he received the dowry amounting to 12 pounds and simultaneously bought from his father-in-law a piece of woodland in Terbogna, near Genoa.⁵³ The mention of *Judeus* which accompanies the name *Pasinus* leaves no doubt as to his identity. It does not seem usual for a converted Jew to continue to be called *Judeus*. There is nothing to indicate that the family of the wife, Castellina, her father, Nicolo, and her mother, Viridis, were not Christians. As unusual as this situation

53. ASG, *Notai*, min. 103, fols. 34v and 35r. The act concerning the transaction involving the sale of land and mentioning the relationship begins in these terms:

'In Nomine Dei Amen. Nos Nicolo de Avanno, filius quondam Avanni de Maiolo, et Viridis jugales uterque nostrum in solidum, vendimus, cedimus et tradimus tibi Pasino Judeo, genero nostro, peciam unam terre arboree castanee positam in villa Terbogne. loco ubi dicitur in lamis cui coheret superius terra Johannis Castagnoli, inferius terra Acirusii Ferrarii, ab uno latere fons, ab alio terra Venture de Avanno. Item aliam peciam terre positam in dicta villa arboree castanee, loco ubi dicitur in borris, coheret superius dicti Acursii, inferius aqua Lavanie, ab uno latere dicti Acursii, ab alio fons finito precio librarum novem Janue quas a te habuisse et recepisse confiteor. Renuncians exceptioni non habite et non recepte pecunie doli inde factam condicione sine causa et omni juri. Quas terras cum introitibus et exitibus et omnibus superpositis in ipsis uti optime in aximeque sunt liberas et absolutas tibi vendimus, cedimus et tradimus precio supradicto ab omni specie servitutis et exacto preterque a mutuis, dactis et collectis Communis Janue de cetero prestandis. . . .'

This is followed by the recognition of payment of Castellina's dowry:

'In Nomine Dei Amen. Ego Pasinus Judeus confiteor tibi Nicole de Avanno me a te habuisse et recepisse integram solucionem et satisfacionem de libris duodecim Janue de quibus erat instrumentum scriptum manu Bonamemorie de Recho ut dicunt et quas michi dare teneamini pro dotibus seu patrimonio Casteline uxori mee renuncians omni exceptioni postquam contrarium dicere possem non habite et non recepte pecunie et omni iuri promittens tibi quod de ipsis vel aliquibus ipsarum per me seu personam habentem rationem a me contra te seu bona tua de predictis libris duodecim nula de cetero fiet actio seu que movebitur sub pena dupli de quanto contra fieret et obligatione bonorum meorum ratis manentibus supradictis liberando te per acceptilationem deductam in aquilianam stipulanti solempniter in verbis deductam. Actum Janue in domo Rollandi de Varisio quo habitat dictus Nicola, anno dominice navitatis MCCLXXVI, die XXIII februarii post completorium, indictione tertia. Testes Franceschus, magister asie, Bertolus qui dicitur Maconus, Lapus Oberti et Morandus, filius Nicole'.

may seem, a mixed marriage cannot be discounted. It goes even further than the Jewish-Christian mixing, only to the point of concubinage, found in Sicily in the fifteenth century.⁵⁴

Less surprising, but just as significant, are the contracts in which one finds a Jew acting as the guarantor in order to enable a Christian to stay in Genoa: *Johanes Judeus* declared that he granted full confidence to *Johanes Romularius* in order for *Raynaldus Romularius* to be able 'venire Janue et in districtu salvus et securus in rebus et persona usque ad menses proxime venturos et stare Janue'.⁵⁵ The same arrangement was made for three Christians who we find witnessing on behalf of the Jew Moses, who had been accused of a punishable misdemeanour.⁵⁶

Genoese-Jewish coexistence may also be observed in Genoa's eastern trading outposts where Jews and Genoese lived on good terms, in Chios, and in Caffa, a Genoese city where a *judecha* of about 30 people is attested to from the fourteenth century, while in Pera a similar community had existed from earlier on.⁵⁷

This kind of close relationship between Christians and Jews in Genoa is not an isolated case, and despite recurrent outbursts of tension can frequently be observed in other places too.⁵⁸ Though not unique in this respect, medieval Genoese society is an illustration of urban cultural cosmopolitanism resulting from the socio-economic repercussions of Genoa's far-reaching policy in the Mediterranean.

54. Bresc, *Un monde*, p. 638.

55. ASG, *Notai*, min. 3:II, fol. 92r.

56. Ibid.

57. See n. 40 above.

58. For example, R. Aubenas and L. Guenoun, 'Notes sur la condition des Juifs d'Hyères au XIV siècle', in *Recueil des Mémoires et travaux publiés par la Société d'Histoire du droit et des institutions des anciens pays de droit écrit*, fasc. 1 (Montpellier, 1948), pp. 1-3. D. Menjot noted the successful integration of the Jewish community: 'L'immigration à Murcie et dans son territoire sous les premiers Trastamares, 1370-1420 environ', *Revue d'histoire économique et sociale* (1975), 216-65. Similar remarks concerning the Jews of Arles and Avignon were made by J.P. Poly in *La Provence et la société féodale, 879-1166*, pp. 304-7. J. Schatzmiller, *Recherche sur la communauté juive de Manosque* (Paris, 1978), contributes particularly telling points concerning good relations between Jews and Christians, especially in Nîmes in the 14th century, p. 119. Along the same lines M. Luzzatti, *La casa del Ebreo: Saggi sugli Ebrei a Pisa ed in Toscana nel Medioevo e nel Rinascimento* (Pisa, 1985) should be mentioned.

Pronoia: **The History of a Scholarly Discussion**

Alexander Kazhdan

The Greek word *pronoia* means ‘care’, ‘solicitude’ and in its sublime (theological) sense ‘the divine care’ or ‘providence’. Already Ch. Ducange knew that the word had an ‘administrative’ meaning and translated it as *provisiones* and *pensiones annuae*;¹ the much later dictionary compiled by E.A. Sophocles, however, retains only the theological sense of the *pronoia* — providence.² But, by the time of Sophocles the nature of the *pronoia* had already been discussed, first on the basis of Serbian and later of Byzantine documents. Dj. Daničić, in his dictionary published in 1863-64, defined the Serbian *pronoia* as *fundus ad usufructum datus*,³ and A. Majkov surmised that the Serbian *pronoia* was an estate granted by the supreme authority to individuals as a conditional tenure.⁴ The first serious analysis of the *pronoia* was produced by V. Makushev who had studied numerous acts from the Venetian archives and demonstrated that the term ‘pronoia’ in Dalmatian territories, under the Venetian rule in the fifteenth century, designated lands, villages, or vineyards endowed, in accordance with Albanian usage (*secundum consuetudinem Albanie*), to individual tenants for their lifetime and on condition they paid certain sums and

I am extremely grateful to Angeliki Laiou for her critical reading of the manuscript and valuable advice, and to Mary-Lyon Dolezal for her help in my struggles with the English language.

1. Carolus Du Fresne Du Cange, *Glossarium ad Scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis* (Lyons, 1688), col. 1246.
2. E.A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (New York, 1900), p. 933.
3. *Rjecnik iz književnih starina Srpskih* (Dictionary of Serbian antiquities) (repr. Graz, 1962), Vol. II, p. 458.
4. A.A. Majkov, ‘Chto takoe pronija v drevnej Serbii?’ (What was *pronoia* in ancient Serbia), *Chtenija v imperatorskom obschchestve istorii i drevnostej Rossijskikh*, 1 (1868), 227-32.

fulfilled military service; the Dalmatian *pronoiai* were inalienable and could be confiscated by the Venetian supreme authority.⁵ Makushev's conclusions, based primarily on the situation in Dalmatia of the fifteenth century, were eventually extended to the Byzantine *pronoia*. V.G. Vasil'evskij cautiously noted that the grants of monastic land given to 'the imperial knights' in *pronoia* could be interpreted as 'the actual embryo of the feudal order'.⁶ Vasil'evskij was followed by N. Skabalanovich who stated that the term 'pronoia', as the designation of estates bestowed by the emperor, was introduced in the eleventh century.⁷ It was F.I. Uspenskij who ultimately determined the scholarly perception of the *pronoia* for several decades.

F. Uspenskij's article on the *pronoia* was published in 1883.⁸ Like Makushev and Vasil'evskij before him, Uspenskij considered the *pronoia* a conditional tenure, an estate granted in return for military service. Unlike Vasil'evskij, however, Uspenskij emphasized that the *pronoia* had been developing, not at the expense of monastic properties, but primarily by engulfing the lands of peasant communities.⁹ The basis for Uspenskij's concept of the Byzantine *pronoia* as a tenure conditioned on military service was provided by the documents of the Venetian archives, 'the most signal and reliable source for the study of the historical significance of the *pronoia*', as he puts it, plainly stressing that it is impossible 'to guess the political character of the Byzantine *pronoia* from monastic acts'.¹⁰

5. V. Makushev, 'O pronii v drevnej Serbii' (*Pronoia* in ancient Serbia), *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosvetshchenija* (hereafter *ZhMNP*), 175 (1874), 1-20. The work by St. Novakovic, 'Pronijari i bastinci', *Glas*, 1 (1887), 1-102, is also based on Serbian material. Cf. N. Radojčić, 'O proniji u Srbiji u Arbaniji' (*Pronoia* in ancient Serbia and Albania), *Arhiv za arbansku starinu, jezik i etnologiju*, 3 (Belgrade, 1926), 298-9.

6. V.G. Vasil'evskij, 'Materialy dlja vnutrennej istorii Vizantijskogo gosudarstva', (Sources on the internal history of the Byzantine state), *ZhMNP*, 202 (1879), 415.

7. N. Skabalanovich, *Vizantijskoe gosudarstvo i cerkov' v XI veke* (State and Church in Byzantium in the 11th century) (St Petersburg, 1884), pp. 264-5.

8. F.I. Uspenskij, 'Znachenie vizantijskoj i juzhnoslavjanskoj pronii' (The significance of *pronoia* in Byzantium and the lands of the southern Slavs), in *Sbornik statej po slavjanovedeniju, sostavlennyj i izdannij uchenikami V.I. Lamanskogo* (St Petersburg, 1883), pp. 1-32.

9. Id., 'K istorii krest'janskogo zemlevladienija v Vizantii' (Notes on the history of peasant landownership in Byzantium), *ZhMNP*, 225 (1883), 353-60; 'Materialy dlja istorii zemlevladienija v XIV v.' (Sources for the history of landownership in the 14th century), *Uchenye zapiski Novorossijskogo universiteta*, 38 (1883), 23.

10. Uspenskij, 'Znachenie', pp. 13-14.

From the Venetian documents, Uspenskij moved to the scanty texts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, arguing that in these texts the *pronoia* was also a conditional tenure, as in fifteenth-century Dalmatia. There were three texts that he used for this purpose: Attaleiatēs' note that Michael VII Doukas (1071-78) granted *pronoiai* to everybody; a phrase in Anna Komnēnē concerning the granting of *pronoiai* 'on land and at sea', and a charter given to the kin of the Skordyloi in 1184 (in fact October 1183). Skabalanovich also referred to the note by Attaleiatēs; in addition, he uses an episode related by Skylitzēs (and re-written by Zonaras in the twelfth century): the story of Constantine IX Monomachos (1042-55) who assigned 'the *pronoia* of Mangana' (the monastery of St George in Constantinople) to Constantine Leichoudēs.

Thus Uspenskij seemed to have substantiated that the *pronoia* of the eleventh and twelfth centuries was an estate granted on condition of military service. By the reign of Manuel I Komnēnos (1143-80), 'the landowner system based on the *pronoia*' became an established institution.¹¹ From this starting-point, Uspenskij moved to the fourteenth century, identified the terms 'pronoia' and 'oikonomia', used in monastic documents, and launched a hypothesis that, by this time, the *pronoia* underwent a transformation analogous to that of the Western *beneficium* — from a conditional tenure to the hereditary ownership that could be sold or bequeathed.

This perception of the *pronoia*, as a feudal institution, namely a conditional tenure for military service, became predominant in the early twentieth century, especially after A. Vasiliev's paragraph on the *pronoia* in his chapter on Byzantine feudalism;¹² Vasiliev portrayed the *pronoia* as an institution resembling the Western *feodum* and stressed that the crusaders found local forms of landed property similar to those in the West, but he contrasted it to the Russian *kormlenie*, in which 'the service was not linked to a territory', but only to the rights to revenues from a town or a district. Unlike his Russian predecessors, he suggested that the *pronoia* was not an innovation of the eleventh century, but originated 'in the pagan Roman Empire' where the system of military holdings had been created (according to Vasiliev, the Western *feodum* originated in the holdings of the Roman *limitanei* as well). Similar to

11. Ibid., p. 7.

12. A.A. Vasiliev, *Istorija Vizantii: Latinskoe vladychestvo na Vostoke* (Petrograd, 1923), pp. 62-4. Cf. the American edition of his book — *History of the Byzantine Empire* (Madison, WI, 1952), pp. 567-9. As a separate article — 'On the Question of Byzantine Feudalism', *Byzantion*, 8 (1933), 591-2.

Vasiliev's was the view held by J. Danstrup: he thought that the institution of *pronoia* had developed in the eleventh century and was the donation of estates in return for services; it became hereditary under the Komnēnoi; he characterized these relations as 'a sort of feudalism'.¹³ A. Soloviev and V. Mošin equated the *pronoia* with the Western *feodum* and asserted that it was transformed from a conditional property into a hereditary one.¹⁴ D. Zakythenos stressed the similarity between the Western and Byzantine development as well as the existence of the feudal system in Byzantium which, as he thought in agreement with Vasiliev, had the same roots as Western feudalism;¹⁵ accordingly, he considered *pronoiai* to be linked primarily with military service; later on, he defined them plainly as 'fiefs militaires'; he thought that the simple *pronoia* was transformed into (or perhaps replaced by) the rights to 'sovereignty'.¹⁶ Without providing any definition of *pronoia*, P. Charanis saw in it one of the foundation stones of the empire, created in the eleventh century and an aid in recovering deserted lands and reconstituting the class of soldiers who were land-owners.¹⁷ In the same vein, G. Rouillard conceived the *pronoia* as

13. J. Danstrup, 'The State and Landed Property in Byzantium to c.1250', *Classica et mediaevalia*, 8 (1947), 229.
14. A. Soloviev and V. Mošin, *Grčke povelje srpskih vladara* (Greek charters of the Serbian rulers) (Belgrade, 1936), p. 486.
15. D. Zakythenos, 'Byzanz und die europäische Einheit im Mittelalter', *Internationales Jahrbuch für Geschichtsunterricht*, 4 (1955), 15 (see annotation by F. D[ölger], *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (hereafter *BZ*), 49 [1956], 497-8.).
16. D. Zakythenos, *Crise monétaire et crise économique à Byzance du XIII^e au XV^e siècle* (Athens, 1948), pp. 52-3. The cautious word 'principalement' used here disappears in his *Le despotat Grec de Morée*, Vol. II (Athens, 1953), p. 207. Cf. his *Processus de féodalisation: L'Hellenisme contemporain* (Athens, 1948), repr. in his *Byzance: Etat - Société - Economie* (London, 1973), No. XIII, p. 5.
17. P. Charanis, 'On the Social Structure and Economic Organization of the Byzantine Empire in the Thirteenth Century and Later', *Byzantinoslavica* (hereafter *BS*), 12 (1951), 97-101, repr. in his *Social, Economic and Political Life in the Byzantine Empire* (London, 1973), No. IV. Later he defined *pronoia* as 'the assignment by the government of a revenue-yielding property to a person in return for certain services, usually but not always military' (in *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. I [Madison, WI, 1969]), p. 204; cf. his 'The Monastic Properties and the State in the Byzantine Empire', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (hereafter *DOP*), 4 [1948], 88). In a short paragraph on Nicaean civilization, N. Jorga (*Histoire de la vie byzantine*, Vol. III [Bucharest, 1934], p. 121) renders *pronoiai* as 'subsidies' and adds that they could become hereditary.

'attributions of lands and *paroikoi* to professional soldiers', which originally were granted temporarily (for the life-time of the beneficiary); they became hereditary under the first Palaiologoi.¹⁸ L. Bréhier, who defined the *pronoia* as a 'fief viager' and thought that it had spread by the end of the eleventh century, differed from the majority of scholars regarding the holders of *pronoia*: these grants, he suggests, were conceded primarily to the military, but also to civil functionaries, monasteries, and private citizens.¹⁹ Finally, J. Lindsay considered the *pronoia* or 'charistic system' to form an element in feudal relations, 'similar to one form of *beneficia*.' He describes the *pronoiai* as feudal estates or 'land-tenures' linked with military duties, in which the *paroikoi* were attached to the land and the lord enjoyed the judicial and administrative rights formerly held by the State.²⁰ Lindsay differed from Vasiliev only to the extent that he surmised that the Byzantine *pronoia* lacked the 'strong military element' typical of the Western fief.²¹

While Vasiliev and Charanis focused on the relations between the *pronoiaros* and the State, D. Angelov dealt primarily with the *pronoiaros*' exploitation of the peasantry;²² he distinguished two categories of soldiers: regular citizens drafted to military service, and the holders of *pronoia*, masters of land and dependent population; in Asia Minor there was a great number of *pronoiaroi* who possessed entire villages or enjoyed certain monopolies.

There have been scholars who questioned some details in the theory of Uspenskij. Thus Skabalanovich (who had not yet read Uspenskij's articles) asserted that the documents of the eleventh century did not reveal any connection between the *pronoia* and military service, and P. Mutafchiev rejected the theory of the exclusively military nature of

18. G. Roillard, *La vie rurale dans l'Empire byzantin* (Paris, 1953); cf. review by G. Ostrogorskij, *BZ*, 47 (1954); on *pronoia* see 425-6.

19. L. Bréhier, *Les institutions de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris, 1949), pp. 214, n. 2, and 386.

20. J. Lindsay, *Byzantium into Europe* (London, 1952), pp. 144, 152, 164, 244.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 91, n. 1.

22. D. Angelov, 'Prinos kŭm narodnostite i pozemelni otnoshenija v Makedonija (Epirski despotat) prez pŭrvata chetvurt na XIII vek' (Ethnic structure and landownership in Macedonia [despotate of Epirus] in the first quarter of the 13th century), *Izvestija na Kamarata na narodnata kultura*, 4/3 (1947), 3, 31-5; cf. his 'Prinos kŭm pozemelnite otnoshenija vŭv Vizantija prez XIII vek' (Landownership in 13th-century Byzantium), *Godishnik na filosofsko-istoricheskija fakultet*, 2 (Sofia, 1952), 11.

the *pronoia* in the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries.²³ B.A. Panchenko studied the case of the *pronoia* bestowed upon the 'knight' (*lennyj rycar*) Syrgaris and came to the conclusion that there was no specific distinction between a donation to a monastery and a *pronoia* conceded to a beneficiary. He stated: 'in neither case would the grant change the [nature of the] property of the *paroikos*, be it inherited or acquired'; accordingly, Panchenko rendered the term 'oikonomia' as *votchinnij kompleks*, namely hereditary property.²⁴

Uspenskij, Vasiliev, and Zakythenos stressed the similarity between the Western *beneficium*-fief and the Byzantine *pronoia*; on the other hand, C. Cahen drew attention to a different parallelism — between the *pronoia* and its oriental analogy, *iqṭ'ā*; he described the *pronoia* as a sum of public rights and obligations transferred from the State to grand landowners, both civil and military, which in the twelfth century (*sic!*) became hereditary;²⁵ Cahen contrasted the development in Byzantium and in the Arab world with that of Western feudalism.

It was F. Dölger who suggested an interpretation of the *pronoia* which substantially differed from that of Uspenskij and Vasiliev, an interpretation already found in the work of Ducange. He translated the word 'pronoia' as *Besoldung*, namely remuneration; it would be conceded in the form of tax revenues to the high military commanders and civil dignitaries.²⁶ He defined the *pronoia* (equated with *oikonomia*) as 'a right to the public revenues of fixed amount (*posotēs*) granted to private persons (both military and civil functionaries) from

23. P. Mutafchiev, 'Vojnishki zemi i vojnici vŭv Vizanija prez XIII-XV v.' (Soldiers' lands and soldiers in 13th–15th-century Byzantium), *Spisanie na Bŭlgarskata Akademia na naukite*, 27 (1923), 1–113, repr. in his *Izbrani proizvedenija*, Vol. I (Sofia, 1973); on the *pronoia* see pp. 561–89.

24. B.A. Panchenko, 'Krest'janskaja sobstvennost' v Vizantii (Peasant land-ownership in Byzantium), *Izvestija Russkogo Archeologicheskogo Instituta v Konstantinopole* (hereafter *IRAIK*), 9 (1904), 119–29, 141, and 191.

25. C. Cahen, 'L'évolution de l'iqṭ'a du IX^e au XIII^e siècle', *Annales*, 8 (1953), 49 (see F. Dölger], *BZ*, 46 [1953], 470–71); cf. his 'Notes sur l'histoire de la himaya', in *Mélanges L. Massignon* (Damascus, 1956), pp. 287–303, and the note by F. Dölger], *BZ*, 50 (1957), 261. Unlike Cahen, Zakythenos (*To Byzantion metaxy Anatolēs kai Dyseōs*, *EEBS* [1958], 382–3, repr. in his *Byzance: Etat*, No. III), contrasts Byzantium to the Muslim world and thinks it was closer to the West than to the Orient (see also his 'Byzanz und die europäische Einheit', 8).

26. F. Dölger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung* (Munich, 1927, repr. Darmstadt, 1960), p. 66.

an agrarian unit of a fixed size';²⁷ particularly evocative is his concise survey of the evolution of the *pronoia* from the right to restricted state revenues bestowed upon a beneficiary to the legal subjugation of the tax-payers to this beneficiary and their transformation into dependent peasants (*paroikoi*); Dölger emphasized that the contemporary legalistic mind can hardly grasp this sort of transformation.²⁸ By 1939, however, Dölger began to vacillate: he assumed that the term 'pronoia' had acquired its later 'technical' meaning ('Lehen') and even 'some marks of the later hereditary grant' by the twelfth century; he surmised that the earliest technical use of the word was not in the thirteenth century (he referred in fact to the fourteenth-century author, the so-called Theodore Skoutariotēs) but was to be found in an act of 1162; moreover, Dölger was inclined to interpret the donation of the village Chostiane to Leo Kephalas in the 1080s as a hereditary *pronoia*.²⁹

Even though Western Byzantinists, in the first half of the twentieth century, did not produce a single monographic study of the *pronoia*, a consensus was formed. Like in the case of Uspenskij, the scholars (with the rare exception of Dölger and Cahen) have interpreted the *pronoia* as an equivalent to the Western *beneficium*, an estate conceded temporarily and for service (primarily military) that was transformed (opinions differed as to when) into a hereditary fief.

In the appendix to my dissertation, defended in 1946 and published in 1952,³⁰ I attempted to completely reconsider the theory of Uspenskij. First, I dwelt on the polysemy of the term 'pronoia' that could be applied to the administration of a monastery (*charistikion*) or a

27. Id., 'Die Frage des Grundeigentums in Byzanz', *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences*, 5 (1933), 14, repr. in his *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt* (2nd edn., Darmstadt, 1964), pp. 227-8. Cf. his 'Der Feudalismus in Byzanz', *Vorträge und Forschungen*, 5 (1960), 188-9.

28. Id., review of Mutačhiev, 'Vojnishki', in *BZ*, 26 (1926), 108-9.

29. Id., 'Zur Textgestaltung der Lavra-Urkunden und zu ihrer geschichtlichen Auswertung', *BZ*, 39 (1939), 34 and 59f. On Leo Kephalas see G. Rouillard, 'Un grand bénéficiaire sous Alexis Comnène: Léon Képhalas', *BZ*, 30 (1929/30), 444-50 (without any mention of *pronoia*); on the dossier of Kephalas see now P. Lemerle *et al.*, *Actes de Lavra*, Vol. I (Paris, 1970), pp. 336-7.

30. A.P. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnoshenija v Vizantii XIII-XIV vv.* (Moscow, 1952), pp. 202-23. Cf. a short exposé, *Formy uslovnoj sobstvennosti v Vizantii X-XII vv.* (Moscow, 1960), repr. in *Trudy XXV Mezhdunarodnogo Kongressa vostokovedov* (Moscow, 1962), pp. 481-7; for a German translation see 'Formen des bedingten Eigentums in Byzanz während des X.-XII. Jahrhunderts', *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*, 19 (1966), 217-24.

province, and to collecting customs from fishing areas or from markets; on the other hand, I followed Uspenskij in stating that the term 'oikonomia' was synonymous to 'pronoia'. Second, I suggested that there was no evidence, in the sources of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, that the *pronoia* of that time was real estate, or that it was granted only in return for military service. I questioned Skabalanovich's interpretation of Skylitzēs and Uspenskij's interpretation of Attaleiatēs and Anna Komnēnē, and rendered the expression *dia pronoiatikēs dōreas* in the charter given to the Skordyloi³¹ not as a 'donation in *pronoia*' but a 'providential donation' (namely, one given with special care). I used the 1272 *prostagma* of Michael VIII (1259-82), one unknown to Uspenskij,³² that deals with *oikonomia-pronoia* and defines it in *hyperpera* and not in measures of land. The perception of the *pronoia-beneficium* was elaborated by Uspenskij on the basis of later, fifteenth-century documents, yet I saw no reason to state that the *pronoia-beneficium* (allegedly an equivalent of the Russian *pomest'e*) was transformed into the *pronoia*/hereditary ownership (the Russian *votchina*). I questioned Uspenskij's contrasting the *pronoia* with the so-called *gonikon* that he identified as *votchina*: referring to the 1405 chrysobull of John VII Palaiologos (1390-1408) from the archive of the monastery of St Paul, I surmised that the *gonikon ktēma* mentioned there had been granted by Andronikos IV (1376-79) to Sampias Radoslav in return for services and for the term of two generations³³ (despite the etymology of the term — 'ancestral');

31. On the privileges granted to the Skordyloi, see S. Xanthoudides, 'To diploma (probelegion) tōn Skordilōn Krētēs', *Epetēris Etaireias Krētikōn Spoudōn*, 2 (1939), 299-312; Ch. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West* (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 107-8. The date 1191, suggested by E. Gerland (*Histoire de la noblesse crétoise au Moyen Age* [Paris, 1907], pp. 21-2) and accepted by Brand, is less plausible than the date 1183.

32. It was published by A. Heisenberg, 'Aus der Geschichte und Literatur der Palaiologenzzeit', *SBAW*, Philos.-philol. und hist. Kl., 10 (1920), 33-81, repr. in his *Quellen und Studien zur spätbyzantinischen Geschichte* (London, 1973), No. I. Heisenberg (p. 72) renders the *oikonomia-pronoia* of the *prostagma* as 'Lehen'. See now M. Bartusis, 'A Note on Michael VIII's 1272 *Prostagma* for his Son Andronikos', *BZ*, 81 (1988), 268-71.

33. F. Dölger and P. Wirth, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches*, Vol. 5 (Munich, 1965), No. 3205 (marked as unpublished). I used this chrysobull in a photocopy made by P.I. Sevast'janov in 1861 and stored in the Lenin State Library in Moscow. I published what I was able to read from this photocopy ('Dva pozdnevizantijskich akta iz sobranija P.I. Sevast'janova' (Two unpublished documents from the collection of P.I. Sevastjanov), *VizVrem*, 2

Radoslav transferred half of this property to the monastery of St Paul, and the second half was to be given to the monastery after the death of Radoslav's sons. The *pronoia* of the fourteenth century, according to the charters of monastic archives (by 1946 more monastic acts were available than in 1883, when Uspenskij had published his articles), was in no way a specifically military holding but could be administered by civil functionaries, women, and ecclesiastical institutions. The evolution of the *pronoia* was not from *beneficium* to ownership (there was no such thing as Byzantine *votchina* allegedly independent from the state) but rather, as Dölger suggested, it ranged from the right to a certain amount (*posotēs*) of state revenues, bestowed upon the recipient of a *pronoia*, to the right to the land and the dependent population settled upon the octroyed land. The conditional property in Byzantium never disappeared: it is attested to until the mid-fifteenth century (for example, in the charter of 1450 given to the sons of Plethon). At the end of the appendix, I stressed that the *Chronicle of the Morea* reflected specific (Western) forms and terms of ownership, equating the *pronoia* with the fief.

My book, and especially its appendix devoted to the *pronoia*, was criticized by M.V. Levchenko, at that time the leading Soviet Byzantinist.³⁴ Levchenko affirmed that in the twelfth century the *pronoia* had 'a clearly expressed military character' and had been like a conditional holding ('Kazhdan erroneously denies the conditional nature of the *pronoia*'); he also castigated me for thinking that the holders of *pronoia* 'restricted themselves to the peaceful and modest collecting of rent'; no, they robbed their *paroikoi* and factually transformed them into their slaves. Another Soviet historian, B.T. Gorjanov, was also very critical of my position; in his book, he stated that the *pronoia* was the main form of large-scale feudal landownership in late Byzantium. 'The specifics of its development at this time

[1949], 314-17) with several errors. An accord of 1381 (N. Oikonomides, *Actes de Docheiariou* [Paris 1984], No. 48) describes a procedure of bestowing 'freedom' (*eleutheria*) (from taxation?) upon certain *gonika kiēmata*, as a result of which the beneficiary received 'possession and ownership'. A. Laiou and D. Simon ('Eine Geschichte von Mühlen und Mönchen', *Bullettino dell'Istituto di diritto romano*, 30 [1992], 638-9), consider this bestowal in the context of the political situation in Macedonia, drastically changed after the defeat of 1371. The concept of *gonikon* needs a special study.

34. M.V. Levchenko, *VizVrem*, 7 (1953), pp. 276-82 — on the *pronoia* see pp. 279-81. In her review of my book, H. Evert-Kappesowa (*BS*, 15 [1954], 48f.) gives only an exposé of my views on the *pronoia*, without taking sides.

consisted in the transition from a conditional and provisional grant to full hereditary ownership'.³⁵

These critical judgments are significant because they clarify the major points of the discussion, namely: 1) whether the *pronoia* was an institution (predominantly) serving the military organization of the empire; 2) whether the *pronoia* was created in the eleventh century as a grant of real estate; 3) whether it was transformed from a conditional grant (*beneficium*) into hereditary (full) ownership. The next generation of scholars was returning time and again to the same problems.

G.A. Ostrogorskij initiated a new stage in the investigation of the *pronoia* with the publication, in 1951, of his Serbian monograph.³⁶ The book is richer in material than the article by Uspenskij, more accurate in presentation, and more logical and persuasive. None the less, the main lines of the concept remain the same.

Unlike Vasiliev, Ostrogorskij rejected the existence of a direct link between the *pronoia* and the stratiotic holdings of the previous centuries. Like Uspenskij, Ostrogorskij began his history of the *pronoia* in the eleventh century and, following Skabalanovich (whom he did not cite) and Mutaščiev, he added the donation of the *pronoia* to Constantine Leichoudēs (see p. 135 above), accompanied, as he said, by the concession of immunity, to Uspenskij's list of early evidence; like Uspenskij he interpreted the donations of *kastra* for life, mentioned in a lost edict of Michael VII, as *pronoia*; he assumed that the eleventh-

35. B.T. Gorjanov, *Pozdnevizantijskij feodalizm* (Late Byzantine feudalism) (Moscow, 1962), p. 99. Gorjanov expressed the same idea in his earlier articles, e.g., 'G.A. Ostrogorskij i ego trudy po istorii Vizantii' (G.A. Ostrogorskij and his work on Byzantine history), *Voprosy istorii* (1945), Nos. 3-4, p. 141; 'F.I. Uspenskij i ego znachenie v vizantinovedenii' (F.I. Uspenskij and his role in Byzantine studies), *VizVrem*, 1 (1947), 60. Here Gorjanov touches upon another point of Uspenskij's theory — the connection of the system of *pronoia* with 'the military interests of the central government'.

36. G. Ostrogorskij, *Pronija: Prilog istoriji feudalizma u Vizantiji i u južnoslovenskim zemljama* (Belgrade, 1951); it was published in French, first in *Byzantion*, 22 (1952/53), 437-517, and thereafter in his book, *Pour l'histoire de la féodalité byzantine* (Brussels, 1954), 1-257. A résumé appeared as *Le système de la pronoia à Byzance et en Serbie médiévale*, Actes du VI^e Congrès international d'études byzantines, Vol. I (Paris, 1950), pp. 181-9. The core of his concept was already formulated in his *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates* (1st edn., Munich, 1940), pp. 232, 262-3, 344-5. Cf. his *Agrarian Conditions in the Byzantine Empire in the Middle Ages*, The Cambridge Economic History of Europe, Vol. I (1942), pp. 215-16, and 'Le grand domaine dans l'Empire byzantin', in *Le Domaine*, Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin, 4 (1949), 47-8.

century *pronoia* had no obligation of military service but instead resembled the so-called *charistikion*, the donation of monasteries to secular persons or ecclesiastical institutions; he suggested, however, that already under Michael VII 'the system of *pronoia* began to acquire a military character'.³⁷ Ostrogorskij emphasized the military nature of the *pronoia* under the Komnēnoi and insisted that it expanded at this time: to the evidence presented by Uspenskij (such as Anna Komnēnē and the donation to the Skordyloi of 1183) he added a couple of acts from the archive of the Lavra of Athanasios (specifically he discussed the act of 1162, already used by Dölger, which mentions three *stratiotai* who held a *proasteion* in *pronoia*, and the case of Cuman *stratiotai* in the area of Moglena who received two *douloparoikoi* 'in *pronoia*' before 1184). On the other hand, he asserted that the 1084 chrysobull of Alexios I in favour of his brother Adrian (which granted Adrian some taxes imposed on the monks of the Lavra but specified that the monks were not transformed into Adrian's *paroikoi*) was not a grant of *pronoia*, since according to Ostrogorskij, 'the grant of fiscal revenues from a fixed territory did not signify concession of this territory in *pronoia*'.³⁸ In addition, he interpreted Niketas Chōniatēs' evidence concerning 'donations of *paroikoi*' as *pronoia*, even though the historian did not use 'the expression *pronoia*'.³⁹

Ostrogorskij had more reliable sources from the thirteenth century on: he stressed that the *pronoiai* in the *Chronicle of the Morea* were identical to Western fiefs, and in the *Chronicle* found evidence that the *pronoia*-fief existed in the Peloponnese before the Latin invasion of 1204; on the basis of the ordinance of 1262, he asserted that in the Empire of Nicaea the *pronoia* had formed 'une possession conditionnelle et temporelle'⁴⁰ (an identical formula was employed by Gorjanov — see above). Finally, in his conclusion, he stated that 'the *pronoia* in Byzantium and in southern Slavic countries, like the

37. Ostrogorskij, *Féodalité*, p. 23.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 72, n. 1. The chrysobull is now also published in *Actes de Lavra*, Vol. I, No. 46; see the analysis of the chrysobull of 1081 in A. Laiou, *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire* (Princeton, 1977), pp. 145-6. On the act of the Lavra of 1184, see D. Anastasiević and G. Ostrogorskij, 'Les Koumanes pronoiaires', *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et histoire orientales et slaves*, 11 (1951), 19-29. Cf. G. Ostrogorskij, *Jos jednom o pronijarima Kumanima* (More on the Cuman *pronoiai*), *Zbornik Vladimira Mošina* (Belgrade, 1977), pp. 63-74.

39. Ostrogorskij, *Féodalité*, p. 28.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

Western fief and Russian *pomest'e*, was an expression of developed feudalism'.⁴¹ While analysing the *prostagma* of 1272, he underscored not the 'numerical' (in *hyperpyra*) nature of donations in *oikonomia-pronoia* (as I did), but their 'caractère passager et conditionnel'.⁴² *Posotēs*, according to Ostrogorskij,⁴³ was a 'rente féodale', and its exaction did not distinguish the *pronoia* in economic terms from other estates. The holders of *pronoia* could possess both lands and other properties (such as fishing areas) but these 'beneficiaries' all had a common trait — they were warriors, 'representatives of the upper levels of feudal society'.⁴⁴ The thirteenth-century *pronoia* remained a conditional *beneficium* but, by the end of the century, the tendency to transform the 'conditional and provisional' *pronoia* into a hereditary ownership became evident: Michael VIII Palaiologos was the first to introduce the right to inherit a *pronoia* (albeit in individual cases);⁴⁵ the grant, however, remained inalienable. The ecclesiastical estates and the *pronoia* were clearly distinct (Ostrogorskij asserts that the rights of the *pronoiaris* were expressed by the verbs *ekhein*, *katekhein*, whereas for ownership the verb *kektesthai* was employed),⁴⁶ even though the monasteries could acquire former *pronoiai*.⁴⁷ The inventory of 1333 of the *pronoia* held by the eparch Michael Monomachos shows that the peasants under the *pronoia* paid substantially lower 'taxes' for similar holdings than the serfs of the monastic estates.⁴⁸

The period from the mid-fourteenth century to the end of the empire provides a new area for investigation hardly touched upon by previous scholars: Ostrogorskij argued that during this period half of the

41. Ibid., p. 257. He underlines (p. 31) that Bonifatius of Montferrat described Manuel I's gift to Bonifatius' father as *feodum*..

42. Ostrogorskij, *Féodalité*, p. 98.

43. Ibid., p. 105., cf. *rente* — pp. 113, 124, 147, etc.; *posotēs nomismatikē* — p. 115. On the *posotēs nomismatikē* see already V. Mošin, 'Zografskie praktiki', *Sbornik v pamei' na prof. P. Nikov* (Sofia, 1940), pp. 293-40 (without any link to the *pronoia*).

44. Ostrogorskij, *Féodalité*, p. 86.

45. Ibid., pp. 96-8.

46. Ibid., p. 98-9. The fact is, however, that Byzantine documents do not present strict differentiation between the terms for *dominium* and *possessio* — A. Kazhdan, 'Do We Need a New History of Byzantine Law?', *Jahrbuch des österreichischen Byzantistik* (hereafter *JÖB*), 39 (1989), 19-20. On the 'lack of elaborated terminology of possession and ownership in Byzantium', see also Laiou and Simon, *Eine Geschichte*, p. 656.

47. Ostrogorskij, *Féodalité*, p. 137.

48. Ibid., pp. 112-20; cf. the detailed study of this inventory, pp. 347-56.

monastic lands was granted to the beneficiaries of *pronoia*, and even from the properties remaining under the monks' control they were obliged to concede a portion of their revenues to the *pronoiai*oi;⁴⁹ these measures were dictated by the needs of defence after the defeat of 1371, and they provoked the monks' animosity towards the Byzantine government. The last two chapters of the monograph were devoted to the *pronoia* in Serbia and Zeta (Albania).⁵⁰

Ostrogorskij's book played a momentous part not only because of the complexity of his analysis and the presentation of numerous new texts for the study of the problem, but also due to his international reputation, which instigated the immediate translation of the Serbian monograph into French, and the question of the *pronoia* stopped being 'a Slavic business' and was brought into the forefront of Western

49. Ibid., p. 169.

50. The problem of Serbian *pronoia* was frequently discussed after Ostrogorskij's monograph had been published; see M. Lascaris, 'Cinq notes à la *pronoia* de M. Ostrogorski', *Byzantion*, 21 (1951), 265-74 (mainly on the period after 1453), and G. Ostrogorskij, 'Sur la *pronoia*. A propos de l'article de M. Lascaris', *Byzantion*, 22 (1952), 161-4. See also later works: P.G. Valentini, 'Chiarimenti sulla natura della *pronoia* bizantina attraverso la documentazione della sua continuazione in Serbia e Albania', *Atti del VIII Congresso di studi bizantini*, 1 (1953), 488-510 (with a negative judgment by F. D[ölger], *BZ*, 46 [1953], 471); S.P. Bobrova, 'K voprosu ob uslovnom zemlevladii v Serbii' (The question of conditional landholding in Serbia), *Slavjanskij sbornik*, 1 (Voronezh, 1958), 16; I. Božić, 'Proniari et capita', *Zbornik Radova Vizantoloskog Instituta* (hereafter *ZRVI*), 8/1 (1963), 61-70; B. Krekić, 'Prilog proučavanju pronije u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji' ('Contribution à l'étude de la *pronoia* dans la Serbie médiévale', res.), *ZRVI*, 8/2 (1964), 227-34; E.P. Naumov, 'K istorii vizantijskoj i serbskoj pronii' (The history of Byzantine and Serbian *pronoia*), *VizVrem*, 34 (1973), 22-31 — cf. his *Gosdopstvujuschchij klass i gosudarstvennaja vlast' v Serbii XIII-XV vv.* (The ruling class and the state authority in Serbia in the 13th-15th centuries) (Moscow, 1975), pp. 125-8; R. Mihaljčić, 'Vojnicki zakon' (Soldiers' law), *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta*, XII/1 (Belgrade, 1974), 305-9; L. Margetić, 'Isprava kralja Milutina za manastir Sv. Georgija — prilog poznavanju društva u Srpskoj državi XIV. stoljeća' (A decree of King Milutin for the monastery of St George — a source for the study of society in the Serbian state of the 14th century), *Historijski zbornik*, 42/1 (1989), 71-6. In addition see some general studies such as M. Wlăinatz, *Die agrar-rechtlichen Verhältnisse des mittelalterlichen Serbiens* (Jena, 1903), pp. 79-83; K. Jireček and J. Radonić, *Istorija srba*, Vol. II (Belgrade, 1978), pp. 55-7; M. Mladenović, *L'Etat serbe au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1931), pp. 87-93, and a review by N. Radojčić in *Glasnik Skopskog naučnog društva*, 11 (1932), pp. 255-6; J. Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans* (Ann Arbor, 1987), pp. 223-4, 517.

scholarship. The book was extensively and favourably reviewed.⁵¹ I. Ševčenko called Ostrogorskij's study of the *pronoia* 'the most valuable single contribution to the social history of Byzantium made in the past several decades';⁵² the book by Ostrogorskij, he wrote elsewhere, 'marked a date in the history of Byzantine social studies, since it put an end to hesitations over the character of a basic Byzantine form of land tenure'.⁵³ Even those reviewers who dared to make critical comments did not pursue the cardinal problems: thus G. Stadtmüller reproached Ostrogorskij for not using 'eine ganze Anzahl weitere Praktika' (which have nothing to do with the *pronoia*) and for applying the notion of feudalism,⁵⁴ and H.G. Beck cautiously surmised that the *pronoia* should be characterized as an institution of economic and fiscal ('wirtschaftlich-steuerrechtliche') rather than military nature.⁵⁵

Some Serbian scholars, while reviewing Ostrogorskij's books, raised questions concerning the connection of the *pronoia* with the Islamic institutions, primarily the *timār*. M. Mladenović who suggested the existence of two kinds of *pronoia*: the holdings of regular soldiers and the large 'administrative *pronoia*', questioned the identification of the Byzantine institution with the Western fief and assumed that the

51. For instance, H. Grégoire and M. Lascaris, *Byzantion*, 21 (1951), 223-31 (a survey of Ostrogorskij's *Pronoja*); here the authors accept Ostrogorskij's idea of the *pronoia*'s similarity to the Western fief; in another review, however, Grégoire (*Académie R. de Belgique. Cl. des Lettres*, 5th ser., 40 [1954], 613-15), emphasized, in a different way, the distinctness of Byzantine feudalism from the Western forms. Positively, Ostrogorskij's concept of the *pronoia* was presented by A. Abel, *Le Moyen Age*, 61 (1955), 505-11; see P. Topping, *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 35 (1957), 453-6. The *Pronoja* was warmly received in Yugoslavian periodicals, see, e.g., J. Žontar, *Zgodovinski časopis*, 8 (1954), 258-62; cf. nn. 56 and 57 below.

52. I. Ševčenko, 'An Important Contribution to the Social History of Late Byzantium', *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Art and Sciences in the US*, 11, 4 (1952), 448-59; the opinion is shared by G. Downey in *Speculum*, 30 (1955), 115-18.

53. I. Ševčenko, 'On the Preface to a Praktikon by Alyates', *JÖB*, 17 (1968), 65, repr. in his *Society and Intellectual Life in Late Byzantium* (London, 1981), No. XIII. Under Ostrogorskij's influence, Ševčenko considers the donation to Alyates as a *pronoia* despite the lack of the term in the document: Alyates, he argues, was a *stratiotēs*, 'that is, the *pronoia* holder' (p. 69); see objections in my review in the *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 27 (1982), 88.

54. See review by G. Stadtmüller in *Gnomon*, 27 (1955), 130-31.

55. See review by H.G. Beck in *Historische Zeitschrift*, 187 (1959), 135-7.

Turkish *timār* was modelled on the Byzantine *pronoia*.⁵⁶ B. Čubrilović more insistently rejected the identification of the *pronoia* with the Western fief and he too equated it with the *timār*.⁵⁷

Ostrogorskij's monograph influenced a series of new studies. N. Svoronos, in a general survey of Byzantine rural life, dwells, among other things, on the problem of *pronoia*;⁵⁸ he substantially agreed with Ostrogorskij on the following issues: that the *pronoiai* and *oikonomiaiai* were conditional and inalienable grants of land, distinct from the military holdings of the previous centuries; that they became hereditary under the Palaiologoi; and that they were given in return for military service. Unlike Ostrogorskij, Svoronos assumed that they were later assigned to the *dignitaires civils* as well. A. Laiou also followed Ostrogorskij in her interpretation of the *pronoia* as a grant consisting of land, personal in the eleventh century but converted, under Michael VIII, into hereditary property, 'the equivalent of a Western fief'; they were different from the military holdings of the tenth century.⁵⁹

It seems that it was only my review of Ostrogorskij's book that returned to the discussion of the major issues concerning the problem of *pronoia*:⁶⁰ first, I tried to demonstrate that the concept of inalienability of the *pronoia* contradicted the sources (Ostrogorskij himself characterized the *pronoia* of Xenia Soultanine as a 'pleine propriété' which it was permissible to sell, exchange, give as a dowry, et cetera);⁶¹ second, I disagreed with Ostrogorskij that *pronoiai* listed in

56. M. Mladenovic, 'Zur Frage der *Pronoia* und des Feudalismus im byzantinischen Reiche', *Südost-Forschungen*, 15 (1956), 132-4, n. 32.

57. V. Čubrilović, 'Oko proučavanja srednjovekovnog feudalizma', *Istoriski casopis*, 3 (1951-52), pp. 200-202. In an embryonic form this idea was expressed by S. Novaković (see n. 5 above). This view was criticized by N. Filipović, *Godišnjak Istoriskog društva Bosne i Hercegovine*, 4 (1952), 289-90.

58. N. Svoronos, 'Petite et grande exploitation à Byzance', *Annales*, 11 (1956), 328, repr. in his *Etudes sur l'organisation militaire, la société et l'économie de l'Empire byzantin* (London, 1973), No. II. Completely in accordance with Ostrogorskij, Brand (*Byzantium*, p. 9) writes that *pronoiai* 'consisted of estates worked by peasants and awarded in return for military service'.

59. A. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins* (Cambridge, MA, 1972), p. 4. More cautious is her definition in the book *Peasant Society*: first given for service (military or not), *pronoiai* (revenues from land) 'soon became hereditary'. Later, without citing the *pronoia* 'by name', Laiou ('Byzantium and the West', in *Byzantium: A World Civilization* [Washington, 1992], p. 69) contrasted revocable privileges in Byzantium with Western hereditary fiefs.

60. A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem*, 10 (1956), 218-28.

61. Ostrogorskij, *Féodalité*, pp. 130-31.

monastic inventories were former *pronoiai*; I also disagreed with him regarding the volume of rights of the state over the 'private' lands and *pronoiai* and suggested that there was no terminological distinction between the owner's right to the land and that of the *pronoiarioroi* and that the private estates could have been legally confiscated by the state; finally, I rejected the evidence concerning the *pronoia* of the eleventh century (the donation of the *pronoia* of Mangana⁶² and the obscure phrase of Attaliates), just as I questioned the evidence of documents of the twelfth century concerning the 'conditional and temporary' nature of the *pronoia*, and referred in this connection to two acts of the 1080s (neglected by Ostrogorskij) which mention monastic *oikonomiai*.

It is paradoxical that after the publication of Ostrogorskij's comprehensive analysis of *pronoia*, which was intended to support and corroborate Uspenskij's theory of the *pronoia*, this theory began to collapse. It is also paradoxical that despite this change of attitude, the book by Ostrogorskij has been consistently praised and referred to, whereas the views of the opponents of Uspenskij's theory (even of Dölger) were infrequently recalled. A serious revision of Ostrogorskij's views on the *pronoia* began several years after his book was published in 1951. P. Lemerle spoke of the *pronoia* only tangentially while examining two acts of 1162 and 1184 from the archive of the Lavra; he expressed doubts that the Cumans in the ordinance of 1184 had dwelt in Moglena 'à titre militaire'; he suggested that the evidence of this ordinance dealing with *two* dependent peasants (Lemerle's italics) should not be overestimated, and proclaimed the act of 1164 unreliable, since the document does not indicate whether Pankratios, who had held the *proastion* after the death of the three *stratiotai*, was a soldier or not ('un certain Pankratios, dont nous ne savons d'ailleurs rien').⁶³ H. Ahrweiler, without any reference to Ostrogorskij's *Pronoia*, examined this institution as a form of incorporeal rights and, like Mladenović, distinguished two categories: the soldiers' *pronoia*, modest in size,

62. K. Juzbashian, "'Varjagi" i "pronija" v sochinenii Aristakesa Lastivertci' ('Varangians' and 'pronoia' in the work by Aristakes of Lastivert), *VizVrem*, 16 (1959), 24-8, also interprets 'the *pronoia* of Mangana' in Skylitzes as the *kouratoria* of Mangana.

63. P. Lemerle, 'Recherches sur le régime agraire à Byzance: la terre militaire à l'époque des Comnènes', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 2 (1959), 276-9. In the English revision (*The Agrarian History of Byzantium* [Galway, 1979], p. 239), Lemerle was inclined to consider Pankratios a soldier ('of whom it is not stated that he is a *stratiote*, but it seems likely'), and by so doing he moved closer to Ostrogorskij's view.

temporary, and granted in return for specific services, and apanages or hereditary *pronoiai*; the latter were established by the first Komnēnoi and (here she follows Zakythenos, her teacher) led to the creation of virtually independent states within the empire of the last Palaiologoi.⁶⁴ Much more consistent was the criticism by A. Hohlweg, a student of Dölger's, probably the last scholar to remember and quote his teacher's opinion about the *pronoia*.⁶⁵

Step by step Hohlweg examined the scanty data concerning the *pronoia* in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; he rejected the traditional interpretation of Skylitzēs' passage on the *pronoia* of Mangana which he explained as a *charistikion*; he denied that Attaleiatēs used the word 'pronoia' in a technical sense; he refused to regard the *pronoiai* 'on land and at sea' of Anna Komnēnē as estates granted in return for military service; he questioned the validity of interpreting Niketas Chōniatēs' picture of the 'donations of *paroikoi*' as referring to *pronoia*, since the term 'pronoia' was not used by the historian;⁶⁶ and he reconsidered Ostrogorskij's interpretation of the acts of 1162 and 1184. His conclusion was unequivocal: there is no evidence proving the existence of the institution of *pronoia* before the Komnēnoi; some elements of the *pronoia* system originated under the Komnēnoi, but it did not reach the

64. H. Glykatzi-Ahrweiler, *La concession des droits incorporels. Donations conditionnelles*, Actes du XII^e Congrès international d'études byzantines, Vol. II (Belgrade, 1964), pp. 110-14, repr. in her *Études sur la structures administratives et sociales de Byzance* (London, 1971), No. I. On p. 113, n. 68 there is a reference to Ostrogorskij's *Quelques problèmes d'histoire de la paysannerie byzantine* (Brussels, 1956), but none to his *Féodalité*. Later (in 'La politique agraire des empereurs de Nicée', *Byzantion*, 28 [1958/9], 55) she stated that before 1204 the term 'pronoia' had not appeared in the region of Nicaea; in the thirteenth century, however, many Latins possessed military *pronoiai* in this area (H. Ahrweiler, 'L'histoire et la géographie de la région de Smyrne', *Travaux et Mémoires* [hereafter *TrMém*], 1 [1965], 20, repr. in her *Byzance: les pays et les territoires* [London, 1976], Pt IV; cf. her 'La politique agraire des empereurs de Nicée', *Byzantion*, 28 [1958/59], 58-9). In another work, referring to the Typikon of the Pantokrator monastery, that mentions the *pronoia* of the late Synadenos, she states that the stratiotic *pronoiai* existed in the time of the Komnenoi — H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* (Paris, 1966), pp. 218-20.

65. A. Hohlweg, 'Zur Frage der Pronoia in Byzanz', *BZ*, 60 (1967), 288-308. Cf. also the chapter on the *pronoia* in his *Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte des Oströmischen Reiches unter den Komnenen* (Munich, 1965), pp. 82-93.

66. Only in a marginal note to the fourteenth-century *Synopsis* of 'Skoutariotes', summarizing Choniates, does the word 'pronoia' appear — and not in the original text of Choniates — see Glykatzi-Ahrweiler, *La concession*.

level ascribed to it by Ostrogorskij: the *pronoia* was no more than a concession of some state taxes to the *pronoiarhos*.

During the same year when Hohlweg's article appeared, D. Jacoby published a monograph on the Greek archons in the Latin Morea.⁶⁷ He bluntly rejected the idea that the institution of *pronoia* existed in the Peloponnese before the Frankish conquest of 1204, even though he accepted the possibility that the donation of 1183 to the Skordyloi might concern *pronoia*.⁶⁸ The Greek version of the *Chronicle of the Morea*, he argued, was from the late fourteenth century and reflected the relations and the terminology of its time; it employed the term 'pronoia' where its prototype had used *fief* (whose equivalent the *pronoia* eventually became),⁶⁹ except for the instances in which the chronicler recorded the official registers of fiefs. Jacoby accepted the idea that *pronoiai* which were being conceded for life in the first half of the thirteenth century were later partially transformed into patrimonial lands,⁷⁰ but he questioned Ostrogorskij's view of the military character of the *pronoia* in the Morea.⁷¹

G. Ostrogorskij responded to this criticism.⁷² He acknowledged that the 'concession' of Mangana to Leichoudēs 'mit der eigentlichen *Pronoia* noch nichts zu tun hatte'; accepted N. Oikonomides' interpretation of the lost edict of Michael VII concerning the donations of *kastra* and agreed that they were neither *pronoiai* nor *charistikia*;⁷³ he expressed regret that he had interpreted the passage of Attaleiatēs as providing support for the idea that civil functionaries were granted *pronoiai*. Ostrogorskij nevertheless defended his idea that the institution of *pronoia* had existed in the twelfth century. He chose not

67. D. Jacoby, 'Les archontes grecs et la féodalité en Morée franque', *TrMém*, 2 (1967), 421-81, repr. in his *Société et démographie à Byzance* (London, 1975), No. VI. On Jacoby's revision of traditional views see Fine, *Balkans*, pp. 73-4.

68. Jacoby, 'Archontes', 479, n. 287; he is, however, very cautious in interpreting this document and doubts its authenticity.

69. *Ibid.*, pp. 436, 441.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 431 and n. 52, with a direct reference to Ostrogorskij.

71. *Ibid.*, pp. 443-5.

72. G. Ostrogorskij, 'Die *Pronoia* unter den Komnenen', *ZRVI*, 12 (1970), 41-54 (for a clear exposé see F.B[aric], *BZ*, 64 [1971], 202-3); he was supported by A. Carile, 'Sulla *pronoia* nel Peloponneso bizantino anteriormente alla conquista latina', *ZRVI*, 16 (1975), 55-61 (also published in *Studi Urbinati*, 46 [1972], 327-35).

73. N. Oikonomides, 'The Donations of Castles in the Last Quarter of the 11th Century', in *Polychronion: Festschrift Franz Dölger* . . ., ed. P. Wirth (Heidelberg, 1966), pp. 413-17.

to deal in detail with the counter-arguments collected by Hohlweg⁷⁴ (such as Anna Komnēnē's *pronoiai* 'on land and at sea') but rather he concentrated on the data analysed by Lemerle (some of Lemerle's statements coincided with those of Hohlweg): firstly, Niketas Chōniatēs' 'donations of *paroikoi*' (Ostrogorskij seconded his interpretation of the passage by a reference to the marginal note 'stratiotic *pronoiai*' appended to the episode borrowed from Chōniatēs in the late Synopsis attributed by A. Heisenberg to Theodore Skoutariotēs; this evidence was already used earlier by H. Ahrweiler); and secondly, the act of 1162. He also examined the clause from the *Typikon* of the Pantokrator monastery (as did H. Ahrweiler) about the *pronoia* of the late Synadenos. Referring to Chōniatēs and other 'zahlreiche Quellen', Ostrogorskij affirmed that the *pronoia*, from its very beginning in the epoch of the Komnēnoi, consisted not only of revenues but gave the beneficiary both the land itself and the *paroikoi*. Finally, Ostrogorskij defended his perception of the *Chronicle of the Morea* as a source providing us with reliable information about the *pronoia* in the Peloponnese before 1204.

Despite these efforts to preserve the remnants of Uspenskij's theory concerning the Komnenian *pronoia*, the available evidence was actually very scarce. Certainly, the term 'pronoia' was used in the twelfth century and was applied to donations. But in cases when the term was directly applied (the *pronoia* of Synadēnos or the *pronoia* of Pankratios) the character or volume of the rights of the *pronoiaris* was not defined, but when the character of the gift was defined (Chōniatēs' 'donations of *paroikoi*') the term was not used and its application by scholars was arbitrary. In such a situation, the need to search for new evidence was a natural outcome.

In my review of *Féodalité*, I drew attention to an act of 1083 from the archives of the monastery of Xenophon mentioning a monastic (namely, non-military) *oikonomia* — Ostrogorskij, in his response, remained sceptical of such an interpretation; his criticism, however, was directed more against the date (he suggests 1089);⁷⁵ as for the

74. H. Ahrweiler, in her review of Hohlweg's *Beiträge*, *BZ*, 60 (1967), 118, calls his analysis of the edict of Manuel I 'concernant la transmission de biens provenant d'une donation impériale' confusing. Does she mean the passage in Chōniatēs that Hohlweg calls the '*Pronoia* des Proletariats' (*Beiträge*, p. 90)? If so, she seems to reject the traditional linkage of this passage with the institution of *pronoia*.

75. On the date see now A. Kazhdan, 'A Date and an Interpretation of the Xenophon', *Byzantion*, 59 (1989), 267-71.

contents he only said 'scheint mir zweifelhaft'. Similarly, Hohlweg expressed scepticism and suggested that *oikonomia* in the document could be rendered as 'Wirtschaftsbetrieb'.

A text published by J. Karayannopulos offered promising new evidence on the *pronoia*. In a fragment of a treatise for fiscal officials he found a plain definition of the *pronoia*. The anonymous author inquired: 'What is *ta proniatika*?' and he replied: 'The imperial donations for life'.⁷⁶ Unfortunately, the time of the compilation of the treatise is unclear (although Karayannopulos dated it to the eleventh century); the character of the imperial gift is also unclear — was it a donation of land or of revenue? Was it given in return for services, and if so what kind of services — military or something else? And was this *pronoia* an actual *pronoia* as it is known from the later texts (we have no data on actual *pronoia* of the eleventh century) or was the term used for the institution of *charistikion* (usually conceded for one or two generations), as it was common in that century?

N. Oikonomides republished a notarial formulary from a manuscript of 1259 dealing with the donation of *paroikoi* to a *stratiotēs*.⁷⁷ One clause states: 'We transfer to NN so many *zeugaria* in the village MM, namely from the *pronoia* of XX'. While commenting on this clause Oikonomides appeared confused; we know, he said, 'that donation of a *pronoia* was calculated according to the revenue bestowed upon the *pronoiarior*s, namely in accordance with the *nomismatikē posotēs tēs oikonomias*';⁷⁸ yet nothing of this kind is indicated in the document. To solve this enigma Oikonomides suggested that this formulary was to be copied by a subaltern official, who was not entitled to establish the sum of revenue, which had to be specified in another donation, that of the domanial land (also omitted in the formulary). This solution seems artificial, since it is difficult to imagine that a beneficiary was granted two different documents — one concerning his domanial land and revenue, another listing *paroikoi*, their *zeugaria* (teams of oxen or holdings?), and similar matters. Probably the solution should be found

76. J. Karayannopulos, 'Fragmente aus dem Vademecum eines byzantinischen Finanzbeamten', in *Polychronion*, ed. Wirth, p. 322.56-7.

77. N. Oikonomides, 'Contribution à l'étude de la *pronoia* au XIII^e siècle', *Revue des études byzantines* (hereafter *REB*), 22 (1964), 158-75. The formulary was already published by F. Uspenskij, 'Vizantijskie zemlemery' (Byzantine land surveyors), in *Trudy VI Archeologicheskogo sūezda*, Vol. II (Odessa, 1888), pp. 334-5, after his article on the *pronoia* (see n. 8 above), and it escaped both Ostrogorskij's and my attention.

78. Oikonomides, 'Contribution', 170.

elsewhere: the text says that the *zeugaria* in question were transferred *apo tēs pronoias* of XX⁷⁹ and not ‘to the *pronoia*’; therefore it may be assumed that the formulary describes a donation of land and of *paroikoi* to a soldier but it was not creating a *pronoia*; the land was taken from a certain *pronoia* and given to a certain soldier, but we do not know which rights were granted to this soldier.

The text is interesting but it does not change our perception of the *pronoia* of the thirteenth century, even if Oikonomides is followed: we know from the acts of the monastery of Lembiotissa that a ‘knight’ could have *paroikoi* of his *pronoia* and could function as their judge (as in the case of Syrgaris); from the fourteenth-century inventories we know that *paroikoi* and their holdings (and their teams of oxen) could be donated in *pronoia*. This text does not further our understanding of *pronoia*.

M.V. Bibikov turned to other sources of the thirteenth century, such as the *History* of George Pachymerēs (quoted already by Ducange and utilized, albeit incompletely, by Ostrogorskij) and to Gregory of Cyprus whose letters had never been used for the study of the *pronoia*.⁸⁰ Bibikov concludes that the *pronoia* of the thirteenth century was a very complex institution: it could consist of lands and of revenues, it could include entire islands and be limited to small holdings, it could belong to aristocrats, soldiers, women, and ecclesiastical institutions. E. Naumov, in an article devoted primarily to the *pronoia* in Serbia, drew attention to a passage in the *Chronicle of Ioannina* describing the wrongdoings of the despot of Epiros, Thomas Preljubović (1367-84). There the chronicler lists *mitata*, *pronoiai*, and monopolies on wine, grain, meat, cheese, fish, and fruit; Naumov linked these complaints with the other passage dealing with grants of ‘ecclesiastical villages and estates’ that Thomas gave to his Serbian allies or retainers, and

79. Cf. a similar formula: the land confiscated *apo tēs pronoias* of Sir Peros Martinos in the inventory of 1300 — D. Papachryssanthou, *Actes de Xénophon* (Paris, 1986), No. 5.17; cf. F. Dölger, *Sechs byzantinische Praktika des 14. Jahrhunderts für das Kloster Iberon* (Munich, 1949), pp. 97.100.

80. M.V. Bibikov, ‘Svedenija o pronii v pis’mach Grigorija Kiprskogo i “Istorii” Georgija Pachimera’ (Data on the *pronoia* in the letters of Gregory of Cyprus and in the ‘History’ of George Pachymerēs), *ZRVI*, 17 (1976), 93-9. E. Fisher, ‘A Note on Pachymeres’ “De Anronico Palaeologo”’, *Byzantion*, 40 (1970-71), 230-35, translated and commented on the passage that describes an attempt of Andronikos II (1282-1328) to confiscate the *pronoiai* assigned to monasteries, churches, and the members of the imperial entourage and to channel them to the needs of the army. This is evidence that non-military *pronoiai* occupied a significant place in Byzantine society by 1303.

interpreted this information as a testimony to 'the secularization of the ecclesiastical estates and generous distribution of *pronoiai*'.⁸¹ The latter passage does not mention *pronoiai* at all, and the context in which the chronicler placed 'pronoiai', between the billeting and monopolies, contradicts rather than supports the concept of the *pronoia*-estate.

The most significant influx of data concerning the *pronoia* comes from the new publications of acts from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Ostrogorskij had already used the sigillion of John V of 1342 granting a group of *stratiotai posotēs* of *oikonomia*; he underlined that the emperor had transformed their *pronoiai* into a hereditary possession.⁸² Various acts published by F. Dölger and A. Guillou showed common use of such terms as *posotēs* and *oikonomia*.⁸³ Also important is the inventory of an *oikonomia* conceded to a secular beneficiary which is a rare parallel to the *praktikon* of Michael Monomachos.⁸⁴ P. Magdalino published a chrysobull of uncertain date and interpreted it as a grant of *pronoia*,⁸⁵ although the terms 'pronoia' or 'oikonomia' are absent from the text. Moreover, the chrysobull (like that of Alexios I from 1084 in favour of his brother Adrian) is a

81. L. Branousis, 'To Chronikon tōn Iōanninōn', *Epetēris tou Mesaionikou archeiou*, 12 (1962), paras. 10.10-12 and 12.24-8; see Naumov, 'K istorii', 29. On the 'tyranny' of Thomas (without mentioning *pronoiai*) see now D. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epirus: 1267-1479* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 144-5.

82. P. Lemerle, *Actes de Ktulmūs* (Paris, 1945), No. 20; F. Dölger, *Aus der Schatzkammern des Heiligen Berges* (Munich, 1948), No. 16; see Ostrogorskij, *Féodalité*, pp. 124-5. Lemerle called the soldiers' holdings fiefs, but in the second edition (Paris, 1988, pp. 357-8) rejected this term because of its 'feudal' connotation. N. Oikonomides ('A propos des armées des premiers Paléologues et des compagnies de soldats', *TrMém*, 8 [1981], 367-9) employed this sigillion, together with some other documents, to postulate the existence of 'collective *pronoiai*'.

83. Dölger, *Schatzkammern*, Nos. 10.2, 50.7, etc.; A. Guillou, *Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome sur le mont Ménécée* (Paris, 1955), Nos. 2.3, 6.4, etc. Dölger defines the *pronoia* (*Schatzkammern*, p. 48) as a donation of taxes that eventually resembled the Western *Lehen* and was transformed into complete ownership; cf. his formulas 'Beamtenlehen' (*Schatzkammern*, p. 336); 'Rentengut' (*Praktika*, p. 125).

84. P. Schreiner, 'Zwei unedierte Praktika aus der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts', *JÖB*, 19 (1970), 33-49. For an analysis of the document, see N. Oikonomides, 'Notes sur un praktikon de proniaire (Juin 1323)', *TrMém*, 5 (1973), 335-46, repr. in his *Documents et études sur les institutions de Byzance* (London, 1976), No. XXIII; G. Ostrogorskij, 'Drei Praktika weltlicher Grundbesitzer aus der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts', *ZRVI*, 14-15 (1973), 81-101.

85. P. Magdalino, 'An Unpublished *Pronoia* Grant of the Second Half of the Fourteenth Century', *ZRVI*, 18 (1978), 155-63.

donation for life not of land but of the rights to the taxes from the island of Marmara and of some additional income; the beneficiary is not a general but a *parakoimomenos*, a civil functionary.

G. Theocharides published a chrysobull of John VI Kantakouzēnos from 1347 granting the *megas papias* Demetrios Kabasilas *posotēs* of 250 *hyperpera* (as a *gonikotēs*, lit. 'hereditary property') which consisted of the villages Katakale and Plagena, *oikonomia* of the late Gabras, the former state land and a vineyard in Therma;⁸⁶ it is noteworthy that *posotēs*, villages, and the former state land are itemized in this chrysobull without clear differentiation. A 1313 donation of land (fields and a vineyard) to the monastery of Docheiariou assigned all the revenue (*prosodos*) to the monks, whereas the donor and his sons retained the *pronoia*; this property the donor received through the 'charity' of the emperor.⁸⁷ What does 'pronoia' mean in this document? At any rate, it is contrasted to the possession transferred to the monastery.

R. Radić drew attention to two inventories from the archives of the Lavra, dated to 1300 and 1321, which enumerate several *pronoiaistika dikaia* on the border of the terrain described.⁸⁸ Unfortunately, the information contained in these acts is obscure, and the texts remain silent concerning whether these *dikaia* were estates, as the author translates, or incorporeal rights over the population of a fixed area of land. More hypothetical is the article of Lj. Maksimović who believed that *pronoiarior* should have existed in the empire of Trebizond; the

86. G.I. Theocharides, 'Dēmētrios Doukas Kabasilos kai alla prosōpographika ex "anekdotou chrysoboullou tou Kantakouzenou"', *Hellenika*, 17 (1962), 1-24. The chrysobull was republished by N. Oikonomides, *Actes de Dionysiou* (Paris, 1968), No. 2. F. D[ölger], *BZ*, 53 (1960), 181, interprets this donation as *pronoia*. A similar case is reported in an inventory of 1342 published by P. Lemerle, 'Un praktikon inédit des archives de Karakalla (Janvier 1342)', *Charisterion eis A. Orlandon*, Vol. I (Athens, 1964), pp. 278-98, repr. in his *Le monde de Byzance* (London, 1978), No. XVIII: John Margarites was granted a *posotēs* of 55 *hyperpera* consisting of an *oikonomia* taken from Arsenios Tzamlakon and a *zeugelateion* of a Kantakouzenos.

87. Oikonomides, *Actes de Docheiariou*, No. 13.6-7. Oikonomides, in his commentary, stresses that the soldiers' *pronoiai* were 'hereditary' only for two generations. Cf. the possession of *gonikon ktēma* for the term of two generations in the chrysobull of 1405 (see n. 33 above).

88. R. Radić, 'Novi podaci o pronijarima iz prvih decenija XIV veka' (New data on the *pronoiarior* from the first decades of the 14th century), *ZRVI*, 21 (1982), 85-93. The author dubs the *pronoia* 'the most manifest element of Byzantine feudalism'. Cf. *pronoiaistika dikaia* in Dölger, *Schatzkammern*, Nos. 66/7.442-43 (= *Praktika*, p. 53), 68/9.586, etc.

term is not to be found in available documents but according to the author, the *stratiotai* of Trebizond were so similar to Byzantine *pronoiarioi* that both categories of soldiers may be identified.⁸⁹

As a result of this scholarly discussion, most authors of general surveys became more cautious in their definitions of the *pronoia*. To begin with, they followed Ostrogorskij. In 1966 R. Jenkins defined the *pronoia* in complete accordance with the theory of Uspenskij/Ostrogorskij as a 'system of land-holding' and as 'a tenure of property expressly in return for military service', scarcely distinct from institutions of Western feudalism.⁹⁰ D. Obolensky also thought that the *pronoia* was usually held in return for military service; in its early form it was granted for a limited time, and from the reign of Michael VIII it became hereditary. Although he viewed it as an indigenous institution, he suggested that it 'closely resembles the West European fief'.⁹¹

Gradually, the scholarly attitude towards *pronoia* changed. In 1984, M. Angold was much more careful than Jenkins: he did not attribute the beginning of the history of the *pronoia* to earlier than Alexios I Komnēnos and stressed that in many parts of the empire 'the growth of the military *pronoia* seems to have come after 1204'; in an earlier monograph Angold defined the *pronoia* as 'the grant of revenues and services'. Nevertheless, he interpreted the disputed passage of Niketas Chōniatēs as referring to *pronoiai* and suggested that Manuel I 'proceeded to an ambitious reorganization of his army which necessitated a large-scale extension of the *pronoia* system to finance it'.⁹²

Some authors who published after Ostrogorskij tried to find a balanced solution to the *pronoia* problem. M. Ja. Sjužumov, in a brief introductory note to the study of Andronikos I Komnēnos (1183-85), listed various types of donations such as land; management — *oikonomia*; administration — *archē*; taxation — *posotēs*; rights to exploit dependent *paroikoi*, which were transformed, in the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries into a uniform conditional property called

89. Lj. Maksimović, 'Pranojari u Trapezuntskom carstvu' (*Pronoiarioi* in the empire of Trebizond), *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta*, XII/1 (Belgrade, 1974), 393-404.

90. R. Jenkins, *Byzantium: The Imperial Centuries* (London 1966, repr. Toronto, 1987), p. 365.

91. D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth* (London, 1971), pp. 252-3, cf. pp. 214-15.

92. M. Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile* (Oxford, 1975), p. 125, cf. p. 140f.; id., *The Byzantine Empire: 1025-1204* (London – New York, 1984), pp. 225-7.

pronoia, that was a specifically Byzantine institution. In other words, he agreed with my observation concerning the *pronoia*'s polysemy but gave it a different explanation: I had taken an epistemological approach, construing the Byzantine *pronoiai* as different concepts and institutions covered by a single word only by analogy (nobody would have assumed the ontological similarity of *Pronoia* – Providence and *pronoia* – grant). In contrast, Sjužjumov inferred that the 'pre-*pronoiai*' were homologously close to each other and were transmitted to the uniform system. He supplemented this list of the 'pre-*pronoiai*' with the stratiotic holdings known from the previous centuries: unlike Ostrogorskij, he thought that they could be one of the sources from which the *pronoia* had originated. He defined the 'mature' *oikonomia* – *pronoia* as the concession of territory to a person in return for civil or military service; the beneficiary was entitled to an allowance from the population on this territory. An important aspect of Sjužjumov's argument was the emphasis on the role of private ownership: he expressly questioned Ostrogorskij's idea that the *pronoia* could not become 'full private ownership' (Ostrogorskij, referring to the case of the sons of Plethon, affirmed that the *pronoia* had never been transformed into 'propriété allodiale', since the state imposed on it the obligation to fulfil services):⁹³ the inalienability of the *pronoia* did not mean, according to Sjužjumov, 'a complete prohibition to transfer one's rights to another person'.⁹⁴ Sjužjumov thus assumed that not only the *pronoia* could be 'transformed into a *votchina* due to a formal juridical act', but it was itself a form of private ownership despite its being inalienable or granted for life.

D. Angelov joined Sjužjumov in stressing that the *pronoia* of the eleventh and twelfth centuries was not only a right to rent but 'a category of land property' as well. Like Ostrogorskij, however, Angelov considered military service as a necessary obligation of the *pronoia*-holder and spoke of its transformation into hereditary ownership. In his recent book, Angelov retained his views on the *pronoia*, including the interpretation of the case of Leichoudēs as the first reference to the institution.⁹⁵ P. Anderson also followed Sjužjumov:

93. Ostrogorskij, *Féodalité*, p. 186.

94. M.Ja. Sjužjumov, 'Vnutrennjaja politika Andronika Komnina i razgrom prigorodov Konstantinopolja v 1187 godu' (Internal politics of A.K. and the destruction of the area around Constantinople in 1187), *VizVrem*, 12 (1957), 60 and esp. n. 1.

95. D. Angelov, *Istorija na Vizantija*, Vol. II (Sofia, 1963), p. 140; Vol. III (Sofia, 1967), pp. 34 and 63f. Cf. his *Vizantija: vüschod i zalez na edna imperija* (Byzantium: rise and decline of an empire) (Sofia, 1991), pp. 186-7, 373-4.

although he referred only to Ostrogorskij's 'classical study of the institution', he presented a different pattern: his *pronoiai* were not lands or estates but 'administrative benefices' granting 'fiscal, judicial or military powers over fixed territories'. From Ostrogorskij's view he preserved only the idea that the *pronoia* was transformed into a hereditary right, and he specifically questioned Ostrogorskij's identification of the Byzantine *pronoia* with the Russian *pomest'e*.⁹⁶ A 'balanced' approach appears even more clearly in the book by M. Andreev: he proposed that the *pronoia* was created as a right to *posotēs* but eventually became a hereditary feudal estate.⁹⁷ G.G. Litavrin, in an earlier publication, concurred with Sjuzumov but in a later book, referring to Ostrogorskij, he defined the *pronoia* as an institution analogous to the Western fief; at the same time he treated it as an incorporeal right.⁹⁸

R.J. Lilly avoided defining the *pronoia*; he discussed concessions of land in *pronoia* or 'Vergabe als Lehen oder *Pronoiagut*', and underlined two characteristics: that any concession consisted of the land of the state and that the holders of these concessions (*pronoia* or not) formed a substantial military force; at the same time, Lilly seemed to contrast the *pronoia* and the Western fief: while he denied that the *feodum* granted to the father of Boniface of Montferrat possessed the character of *pronoia* he affirmed that Western observers could confuse the two institutions.⁹⁹

H. Ahrweiler, in her survey of *pronoia*,¹⁰⁰ also attempted to find a middle way between the views of Ostrogorskij and his critics. She omitted the references to the *pronoia* of the eleventh century and began its history with the text of Zonaras (that is, in fact, nothing more than a retelling of Skylitzēs' story about the *pronoia* of Mangana); using the

96. P. Anderson, *Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism* (2nd edn., London, 1978), p. 281.

97. M. Andreev, *Vatopedskata gramota i voprosite na bŭlgarskoto feodalno pravo* (A document from the archive of the Vatopedi monastery and problems of Bulgarian feudal law) (Sofia, 1965), p. 48.

98. G. Litavrin, *Bolgarija i Vizantija v XI-XII vv.* (Moscow, 1960), pp. 144-7, and Bulgarian translation as *Bŭlgarija-Vizantija (XI-XII vek)* (Sofia, 1987), pp. 93-5; Id., *Vizantijskoe obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v X-XI vv.* (Society and the state in Byzantium of the 10th and 11th centuries) (Moscow, 1977), pp. 73 and 103; he continues to construe the *pronoia* of Mangana as conditional property (p. 108).

99. R.J. Lilly, 'Des Kaisers Macht und Ohnmacht', *Poikila byzantina*, 4 (1984), 67-71.

100. H. Ahrweiler, 'La "pronoia" à Byzance', in *Structures féodales et féodalisme dans l'Occident méditerranéen* (Rome, 1980), pp. 681-9.

treatise published by Karayannopulos, she considered *pronoiai* as gifts conceded *à titre viager* but acknowledged that at the end of the empire hereditary *pronoiai* were created; following Ostrogorskij she stressed the role of military *pronoiai* but, unlike Ostrogorskij, interpreted them as the concessions of revenues, that is a *posotēs* or a quote of *nomismata*. She concluded with a 'dialectical' statement that the *pronoia* began as a sign of the grandeur of the empire capable of taking care of its dignitaries, but ended, in the form of military *pronoia*, as a symbol of its poverty.

X. Chvostova devoted two articles to the problem of *pronoia*. In 1964, while attacking my book and praising Sjuzumov's view, she in fact followed Ostrogorskij.¹⁰¹ She affirmed that, from the twelfth century on, the *pronoia* was a possession of land not only *de facto* but *de jure* as well. She suggested that the application of the term 'posotēs' to *pronoiai-oikonomiai* did not mean the incorporeal character of the institution, *posotēs* being nothing more than an 'appraisal of land in monetary form'; that, moreover, the term 'posotēs' did not reflect the genesis of the *pronoia* from a total of imposed taxes;¹⁰² that the parallel with *iqṭ'ā* is illusory, and that the *pronoia* originated as a concession of not only revenues but 'certain administrative functions'. In her work of 1988,¹⁰³ Chvostova (this time without mentioning my name — as the

101. X. Chvostova, 'O nekotorych osobennostjach vizantijskoj pronii' (Some features of the Byzantine *pronoia*), *VizVrem*, 25 (1964), 212-30; cf. her monograph *Osobennosti agrarnopravovykh otnoshenij v pozdnej Vizantii. XIV-XV vv.* (Juridic forms of landownership in late Byzantium, 14th-15th centuries) (Moscow, 1968), pp. 205-24.

102. To support her opinion, Chvostova (*Osobennosti*, p. 219, n. 37) refers to Dölger (*Praktika*, p. 15 and *Schatzkammen*, p. 192) who allegedly did not interpret the *posotēs* 'as an actual revenue'. It is true that Dölger (at least in *Praktika*) uses the expression 'imaginäre Summe' but it has nothing to do with *posotēs*; there he describes inaccuracies of the *apographeis*, the compilers of *Praktika*.

103. X. Chvostova, 'Pronija: social'no-ekonomicheskie i pravovye problemy' (*Pronoia*: its social, economic, and legal aspects), *VizVrem*, 49 (1988), 13-23. Cf. her 'Zemel'naja sobstvennost' v pozdnej Vizantii (XIV-XV vv.)' (Landownership in late Byzantium [14th-15th centuries]), *VizVrem*, 51 (1990), 11, and her monograph *Social'no-ekonomicheskie processy v Vizantii i ikh ponimanie vizantijskimi-sovremennikami (XIV-XV vv.)* (Social and economic development of Byzantium and its comprehension by contemporary Byzantines, 14th-15th centuries) (Moscow, 1992). On the link between her idea of the *pronoia* and that of Sjuzumov see Ju.Ja. Vin, *Agrarnyj stroj Vizantii: po materialam sovetskoj istoriografii, 1980-1990 gg.* (Agrarian relations in Byzantium as studied by Soviet historians, 1980-90), *Vizantinovedenie v. SSSR* (Moscow, 1991), pp. 182-3.

representative of the 'fiscal interpretation' of *pronoia* she first cites H. Ahrweiler) continued to assert that the *pronoia* 'was not limited, from the legal view-point, to a grant of taxes' but also included 'some rights to care and administrate'. There were, however, some new nuances in the new article: Chvostova departed from the concept of Ostrogorskij not only by stating that *pronoiai* were granted to 'officials, generals, or *stratiotai*' (the officials being listed first!) but by reversing the whole picture of evolution: in the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries, she said, 'all types of juridical relation to the land, including that of monasteries, were in fact converted into the forms of conditional ownership'.¹⁰⁴ She thus abandoned Sjuzumov's idea that full ownership was a perpetual feature of the Byzantine relation to the land. Moreover, she emphasized the contradictory nature of the *pronoia*: in theory, it was a grant of public rights (does not it mean, first of all, taxes?), in practice the *pronoiatika* of the treatise published by Karayannopoulos were territories or rights to territories. Thus, Chvostova formulated a point that is extremely close to Dölger's position: from this grant of taxes and administrative functions (the hypothesis concerning 'functions' is supported, it seems, only by terminology of the *pronoia* – *oikonomia* and references to Sjuzumov) 'the *pronoia* evolved into an institution of the same type as a *beneficium* and later fief'.¹⁰⁵

In contrast to Ahrweiler or Chvostova, P. Magdalino defines the *pronoia* as 'the right to collect specified revenues and labour services normally due to the fisc'.¹⁰⁶ Yet his only evidence for the existence of Komnenian *pronoia* was the notorious 'donations of *paroikoi*' in Chōniatēs,¹⁰⁷ the passage in which the term 'pronoia' does not appear, a passage that served for Ostrogorskij as seminal proof that the *pronoia* consisted of the granting of lands and not only revenues to the grantee.

The *pronoia*-system was featured in J. Haldon's construction of Byzantine development as a form of the delegation of state power to private individuals. Strangely enough, Haldon, referring to Ostrogorskij, defined the *pronoia* as grants of revenues from certain

104. Chvostova, 'Pronija', 22.

105. Ibid., 17.

106. P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 231. Probably these 'services' designate the same category as Chvostova's 'administrative functions'?

107. Magdalino (*Empire*, pp. 9, 176, and 221) three times quotes this passage, and this passage only, to illustrate the development of the *pronoia*.

taxes or dues in particular regions¹⁰⁸ — yet this in fact contradicted Ostrogorskij's concept of the *pronoia*-estate. Later, however, Haldon explained that by 'revenues' he understood 'lands'¹⁰⁹ ('grants of state revenue, in effect lands') thus eliminating the 100-year-long discussion of the problem. Haldon's perception of the 'military *pronoia*', 'military grants of *pronoia*', or grants 'for (predominantly) military service'¹¹⁰ is closer to Ostrogorskij; Haldon did not address the possibility of non-military *pronoia*. As for the inception of the *pronoia* system, Haldon suggested the eleventh century, later eleventh century, mid-eleventh century, while even Ostrogorskij had recognized the lack of data on the *pronoia* in the sources of the eleventh century.

M. Bartusis contributed a complex and at the same time limited examination to the problem of *pronoia*.¹¹¹ He studied the topic monographically, meticulously analysing his sources (in the best tradition of Ostrogorskij); yet he limited it chronologically and thematically: after few phrases about the *pronoia* of the Komnenian period, his study focused on the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, and he dealt only with the *pronoia* of soldiers, the theme of his book being the army, not society at large. Thus the much disputed questions concerning the origin of the *pronoia* and the *pronoia* of civilians and ecclesiastical institutions were not raised. So far as military *pronoia* is concerned, Bartusis was critical of Ostrogorskij's theory. He disputed the identification of the Byzantine *pronoia* with the Western fief and reasserted the notion that the *pronoia* was an indigenous institution, although it bears some similarities with both the fief and the Turkish *timār* (even though the statement is similar to that of Obolensky, the accentuation is completely different).¹¹² Bartusis rejected Ostrogorskij's description of *pronoiaroi* as masters of their *paroikoi*, emphasizing that those few *paroikoi* who were held by the *pronoia* soldiers were scattered throughout various villages, which made the 'mastership' very difficult.¹¹³ Using the *praktika* Bartusis studied the

108. J. Haldon, *The State and the Tributary Mode of Production* (London-New York, 1993), pp. 72 and 285, n. 5. On the *pronoiai* as 'revenue-grants' see p. 135.

109. *Ibid.*, p. 198.

110. *Ibid.*, pp. 72, 130, 134.

111. M. Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army* (Philadelphia, 1992), pp. 162-90.

112. *Ibid.*, pp. 182-5. Cf. S. Perentides, 'Pronoia-feodalismos-timariotismos, problemata orologias', *Ellenikē Istorikē Etaireia*, Vol. VIII, Panellenio historiko synedrio. *Praktika* (Salonica, 1987), pp. 17-36.

113. Bartusis, *Army*, p. 176, cf. p. 170.

volume of the *pronoiarion*'s income (*posotēs*) which consisted of tax and additional demands, and accordingly he specified the *pronoia* as a grant 'of the state's fiscal and usufructuary rights over a defined set of revenue sources to an individual or group of individuals'.¹¹⁴

Much was written about the *pronoia*, but if we put it concisely, we may separate two main streams of its interpretation. One is the line of Daničić – Uspenskij – Ostrogorskij who considered the *pronoia* an estate (*fundus*), granted primarily to soldiers as a conditional property which, like the Western *beneficium*-fief, was transformed (under the reign of the Palaiologoi) into hereditary ownership. The other line, Ducange – Dölger – Kazhdan, construed the *pronoia* as a revenue (*pensio*) bestowed upon the beneficiary from a fixed territory or a set of peasants, measured in money (*posotēs*) and remaining — like any other Byzantine land — under the control of the state; it has slowly evolved into the authority over the dependent *paroikoi* and limited ownership of the land (as limited as ownership was understood in Byzantium). Some other points distinguish these two concepts, such as the dating of the origin of the *pronoia* or its closeness to/distance from the Western fief/oriental *iqṭā'* or *timār*, but they are of less significance. Some scholars tried to mediate between the opposing positions, to combine dissected elements of two cohesive concepts, but with limited success.

iq

The long discussion revealed several methodological problems that are not easy to solve. In the first place, the term 'pronoia' covers multiple meanings such as *charistikion*, administration of a province, donations to secular persons (civil and military) and to monasteries. On the other hand, it is synonymous with the *oikonomia* (that in its turn is polysemantic) and probably (at least in some cases) with the *gonikon*. We do not know how the Byzantines designated the beneficiary (or holder) of the *pronoia* — the term *pronoarios* is of late origin, and *pronoētēs* was applied primarily to a governor of an administrative

114. Ibid., p. 162. On the concept of 'quantity' or *posotēs* of *pronoia* — see p. 166. In some recent French works *pronoia* and *oikonomia* are defined as 'rente fiscale' (J. Lefort *et al.*, *Actes d'Ivion*, Vol. 3 [Paris, 1994], pp. 93, 148 *passim*); M. Kaplan (*Les hommes et la terre à Byzance du VI^e au XI^e siècle* [Paris, 1992], p.181) suggests the following definition: 'Dévolution de revenus fiscaux levés sur une terre, sans dévolution de la terre'. Unfortunately, I was unable to get hold of the article by T. Maniate-Kokkine, 'Mia prōtē prosengisē stē meletē tou Byzantinou thesmou tes pronoias: oi pronoiarion', *Ellenikē Istorikē Etaireia*, Vol. IX, Panellenio istoriko synedrio. Praktika (Salonica, 1991), pp. 47-60.

district. Of all the terms connected with the concept of *pronoia*-donation only *posotēs* seems to have had a strict technical meaning, designating the quantity of the state tax conceded to the beneficiary — but it is just this term that is less popular with scholars.

We, the scholars, added much confusion to this uncertainty of Byzantine terminology: we expanded the term ‘*pronoia*’ to several cases not described in our sources as *pronoia*, such as the ‘donations of *paroikoi*’ in Chōniatēs or the donation of the island Marmara; we defined as *pronoia* such socially distinct phenomena as endowments to soldiers and apanages of high-ranking officials and generals, not to mention monastic estates; we transferred to the early Byzantine *pronoia* the evidence of later and non-Greek sources such as the fourteenth-century *Chronicle of the Morea* (with regard to the Peloponnese before 1204), the *Synopsis* of Skoutariotēs (as a source for the twelfth century), or Venetian documents of the fifteenth century concerning Albania; we tended to identify the *pronoia* with institutions of other periods (as stratiotic holdings) or of other cultures which are closer to our understanding (like the Western fief).

The *pronoia* was a form of Byzantine ownership and it can be understood only in the context of the Byzantine law, although Byzantine legal textbooks ignore *pronoia*. While in Byzantine legal theory the Roman concept of ownership remained unchangeable, the perception of *pronoia* evolved, and whatever the *pronoia* was it was not the Roman *dominium*. As with many other Byzantine phenomena we are facing, with regard to the *pronoia*, an ambivalence, a contradiction between theory and practice.

And this makes the study of the *pronoia* particularly difficult.

The Intercultural Career of Theodore of Antioch

Benjamin Z. Kedar and Etan Kohlberg

The cultural history of the Frankish Levant, which has yet to be written, sparkles with arresting figures. A wine-drinking Muslim poet, physician, and administrator, who serves first Frankish and then Muslim masters, writes a book on the coming of the Franks to the East. A siege expert from Jerusalem who claims to have destroyed many Saracen castles puts his expertise at the disposal of Frederick Barbarossa and helps him to conquer a Lombard town. A hermit from Blois leaves Frankish territory to preach Christianity to a Muslim ruler, thereby prefiguring Francis of Assisi by a century. A Frankish king asks for non-scriptural proof of the resurrection of the flesh. A Jerusalem-born cleric, who studies for 20 years in France and Italy before returning home, writes a history of Muslim rulers based on Arabic sources. An Armenian archbishop, fascinated by the religiosity of some Frankish monks who settled near Antioch, sets out to translate the *Life* and *Rule* of Saint Benedict from the Latin into his native Armenian. An ophthalmologist who presents himself as *de Jerusalem* and exhibits familiarity with Salernitan lore as well as with several Arabic terms, advocates the use of embryonic tissue to enhance wound healing, thus anticipating a procedure introduced in 1913. A Dominican friar returns to Acre from Damascus with a story originally told about an early Muslim mystic.¹

The first author is primarily responsible for the utilization of the Western texts and the second mainly for the utilization of the Arabic texts. The authors would like to thank Professor Frank H. Stewart for his helpful suggestions on a draft version of the article.

1. On Ḥamdān al-Athārībī see for the time being A.-M. Eddé, 'Sources arabes des XII^e et XIII^e siècles d'après le dictionnaire biographique d'Ibn al-'Adīm', in *Itinéraires d'Orient. Hommages à Claude Cahen*, ed. R. Gyselen [= *Res Orientales*, 6] (Bures-sur-Yvette, 1994), p. 294; Muḥammad al-Ḥajjūj is preparing a monograph on this figure. For the anonymous siege expert see *Vincentii Pragensis Annales*, ed. W. Wattenbach, in *Monumenta Germaniae*

To this gallery of fascinating, mostly little-known figures of the Frankish Levant there may be added a man of oriental origin and education who went West to play a significant role in one of its most glittering cultural centres, serving an emperor and teaching a future pope. This man was Theodore of Antioch.

Theodore's name is well known to students of thirteenth-century European culture, and in particular to those interested in the intellectual activities at the court of Emperor Frederick II. Our knowledge of his career, in contrast, has remained surprisingly nebulous: it is symptomatic that Frederick II's most recent biographer introduces Theodore as 'probably a Christian from Antioch', and evidently harbours reservations about his intellectual capacities, for when he finally brings himself to call Theodore a philosopher, he puts the word in inverted commas.² This vagueness about Theodore is quite astonishing, as the main sources of information about his life had already been located by 1876. Why these sources have not so far been systematically exploited is a question that will be taken up later. But first let us present Theodore's biography as it emerges from the available documentation.

Our information on Theodore's education and early life derives entirely from Gregorius Bar-Hebraeus, the prolific Jacobite prelate (1225/26-1286), who was living in Antioch in about 1244.³ In the *Mukhtaṣar ta'rīkh al-duwal* he relates that the philosopher (*ḥakīm*) Theodore the Antiochene (*Thādhurī al-Anṭākī*) was a Jacobite who

Historica, Scriptores, Vol. 17 (Hanover, 1876), p. 677. On the hermit Peter of Blois, and on Nerses of Lambron's translations into Armenian, see B.Z. Kedar, 'Gerard of Nazareth: A Neglected Twelfth-Century Writer in the Latin East', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 37 (1983), 66-8, 69, 72-3, repr. in B.Z. Kedar, *The Franks in the Levant, 11th to 14th Centuries* (Aldershot, 1993), No. IV, pp. 66-8, 69, 72-3. On King Amalric's question see Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, 19, 3, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, *Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis*, Vol. LXIII (Turnhout, 1986), pp. 867-8. On William of Tyre's lost work on oriental history, see H. Möhring, 'Zu der Geschichte der orientalischen Herrscher des Wilhelm von Tyrus', *Mittelalterliches Jahrbuch*, 19 (1984), 170-83. On *Benvenutus de Jerusalem*, see B.Z. Kedar, 'Benvenuto Grapheo da Gerusalemme — da Salerno — da Montpellier e la sua *Ars probatissima oculorum*' (in press). On the Dominican Yves le Breton, see Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint-Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly (Paris, 1874), pp. 242-4.

2. D. Abulafia, *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor* (London, 1988), pp. 263, 337.

3. Bar-Hebraeus was born in Malatya, where he received his early education, and fled with his family in 641/1243-44 when the town was besieged by the Mongols; the following year they settled in Frankish Antioch, and later Bar-

studied in Antioch the Syriac and Latin languages as well as 'some of the sciences of the ancients' (namely Greek philosophy or science).⁴ Later he left for Mosul to study with Kamāl al-Dīn Mūsā b. Yūnus, known from other sources as a leading scholar in the fields of law, philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, and medicine, who lived from 551/1156 to 639/1242 and solved geometrical and astronomical problems for Emperor Frederick II.⁵ According to Bar-Hebraeus, Theodore studied with Kamāl al-Dīn the works of the philosophers al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā, as well as Euclid and Ptolemy's *Almagest*. Upon his return to Antioch he decided that his knowledge was insufficient and therefore went back to Mosul for further study with his master. Later he went to Baghdad to study medicine.

Bar-Hebraeus also speaks of Theodore's attempts to secure a position for himself. He first offered his services to Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn — most probably 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād, the Seljuk sultan of Konya (Asia Minor) who ruled from 618/1221-22 to 634/1236-37.⁶ However, as the sultan showed little interest in him, Theodore decided to go over to the sultan's enemies in the Kingdom of Lesser Armenia — very close to his native Antioch — in order to serve Constantine, regent of that

Hebraeus went on to Frankish Tripoli to study rhetoric and medicine. See Joseph Simonis Assemanus, 'Gregorius Bar-Hebraeus', in his *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Vol. II (Rome, 1721), pp. 244-6; E.A.W. Budge (ed. and trans.), *The Chronology of Gregory Abū 'l-Faraj*, 1225-1286, Vol. I (London, 1932, repr. Amsterdam, 1976), introd., pp. xv-xvii; J.B. Segal, 'Ibn al-'Ibrī', in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edn.

4. For Bar-Hebraeus' account, see the Appendix to this article.

5. See H. Suter, 'Beiträge zu den Beziehungen Kaiser Friedrichs II. zu zeitgenössischen Gelehrten des Ostens und Westens, insbesondere zu dem arabischen Enzyklopädisten Kemāl ed-dīn ibn Jūnis', in *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Medizin*, ed. O. Schulz, fasc. IV (Erlangen, 1922), pp. 1-7. For Kamāl al-Dīn's biography see Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, ed. I. 'Abbās (Beirut, 1968-72), Vol. V, pp. 311-8; Zakariyyā b. Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād wa akhbār al-'ibād* (Beirut, 1380/1960), p. 463; Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-shāfi'iyya al-kubrā* (Cairo, 1324/1906-7), Vol. V, pp. 158-62; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, Vol. XXIII, ed. Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf and Muḥyī Hilāl al-Sirḥān (Beirut, 1406/1986), pp. 85-7; id., *Ta'rīkh al-islām*, Vol. LXIV, ed. Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf et al. (Beirut, 1408/1988), pp. 394-7; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, ed. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Arnā'ūt and Maḥmūd al-Arnā'ūt, Vol. VII (Beirut, 1412/1991), pp. 356-7; C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur, Supplement* (Leiden, 1937-42), Vol. I, p. 859.

6. See Cl. Cahen, 'Kayqubād I 'Alā' al-Dīn', in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edn.

kingdom from 1219 to 1226.⁷ From these data one may deduce that Theodore completed his studies about 1220; he may therefore be assumed to have been born in the 1190s. At any rate, Theodore did not enjoy his stay among the Armenians, and decided to join a messenger of Emperor Frederick II who was about to return to his master's court.⁸ In Frederick Theodore finally found the patron he had been seeking. Bar-Hebraeus specifies that from the emperor Theodore received honours as well as a place called Kamāhā with its environs. A reference to lands given to Theodore is also found in one of the emperor's last acts, issued at Foggia in November 1250; in this act he grants the land of St Cristina and the village of Prancanica that had appertained to Master Theodore the philosopher while he was alive.⁹

For Theodore's activities in the service of Frederick II we depend wholly on Latin sources. He challenged Leonardo Fibonacci (c.1170-c.1240), the greatest mathematician of the European Middle Ages, to find three integers x , y , and z such that each of the three sums $x + y + z + x^2$, $x + y + z + x^2 + y^2$, and $x + y + z + x^2 + y^2 + z^2$ is the square of an integer. Fibonacci, who solved the problem,¹⁰ evidently held Theodore in considerable respect: on another occasion he sent him a letter on various mathematical and geometrical problems, addressing him as *reverende pater domine Theodore, imperialis aule sume phylosophe* and expressing his willingness to send him further proofs *tanquam domino venerando*.¹¹ Theodore was also active as a translator.

7. On Constantine of Lampron, the powerful head of the Hethoumian family, see R. Grousset, *Histoire des croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem*, Vol. III (Paris, 1936), pp. 266-70; on Kayqubād's struggle against the Armenians, see pp. 266, 269.

8. See Appendix. On the other hand, the colophon of a British Library manuscript claims that 'magnus chalif misit magistrum Theodorum eidem imperatori Federico': C.H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* (Cambridge, MA, 1924), p. 246, n. 18. But, as Haskins noted, the phrase 'magnus chalif' is suspect.

9. '... terram sancte Cristine et casale Prancanice, que fuerunt quondam magistri Theodori philosophi, ad manus curie nostre rationabiliter devoluta cum hominibus, iusticiis, pertinentiis et omnibus rationibus suis, prout ea dictus magister Theodorus plenius et melius tenuit, quoad vixit . . .'; F. Schneider (ed.), 'Neue Dokumente, vornehmlich aus Süditalien', *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 16 (1914), Doc. XXV, p. 52.

10. *Scritti di Leonardo Pisano, matematico del secolo decimoterzo*, ed. B. Boncompagni, Vol. II (Rome, 1862), pp. 279-80. See M. Cantor, *Vorlesungen über Geschichte der Mathematik*, 2nd edn., Vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1900), p. 46.

11. *Scritti di Leonardo Pisano*, Vol. 2, pp. 247-52; Cantor, *Vorlesungen*, Vol. II, pp. 50-52.

A note in an Erfurt manuscript mentions that, at the request of the scholars who were at Padua, he translated into Latin Averroes' introduction to his commentary on Aristotle's *Physics*.¹² This may have occurred during Theodore's stay in Padua in 1239.¹³ Another note, in a Basle manuscript, presents Theodore as the translator of Aristotle's *De animalibus*, presumably from the Arabic.¹⁴

In addition, Theodore was known as a physician. Petrus Hispanus (1210/20-1277), the influential schoolman who also wrote on medical issues and was to end his days as Pope John XXI, mentions Theodore, 'the emperor's physician', as his master, and quotes his bold dictum that all definitions of the medical art are inherently correct.¹⁵ Theodore's only extant work is the *Epistola Theodori philosophi ad imperatorem Fridericum*, preserved in a Marburg manuscript of the late fourteenth century. In this brief treatise Theodore sets down for his patron the basic rules for the preservation of one's health. The treatise was published by Karl Sudhoff, the well-known historian of medicine, who comments that it testifies to a full command of classical and Arabic learning, and that it is written in a clear, masterful style that hardly has an equal among the medical works of the time.¹⁶ Theodore obviously delights in coining aphorisms: *Cibos autem non propter saporos, sed saporos propter cibos sumas*, he admonishes his hedonistic master; elsewhere he tells him that *ad mensam regem non voluptas sed*

12. Erfurt, Amplon. F. 352 (14th c.), fol. 104v: 'Istum [sic] est prohemium commenti A. super libro Physicorum Aristotilis, quod transtulit magister Theodorus . . . rogatu scolarium qui erant Padue. . .'. *Aristoteles latinus*, comp. G. Lacombe and A. Birkenmajer, M. Dulong and A. Franceschini, Vol. 1 (Rome, 1939), p. 104, No. 105, and p. 663, No. 887; see also R. de Vaux, 'La première entrée d'Averroes chez les Latins', *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 22 (1933), 221.

13. See p. 171.

14. *Aristoteles latinus*, Vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1955), p. 803, No. 1121.

15. '. . . magister meus theod[or]us medicus imperatoris consentit omnes diffinitiones artis medicine esse veraces quia quicquid cadit sub sensum verum est quia necessitas ipsa est i.e. practica', *Die Ophthalmologie (liber de oculo) des Petrus Hispanus*, ed. and trans. A.M. Berger (Munich, 1899), pp. 4-5. The editor believed that the emperor in question was Alfonso X the Wise: *ibid.*, p. 86, n. 21. Ernst Kantorowicz (*Kaiser Friedrich II*, Berlin, 1936, p. 315) appears to have been the only one to perceive that the *magister* was Theodore and the emperor was Frederick II.

16. K. Sudhoff, 'Ein diätetischer Brief an Kaiser Friedrich II. von seinem Hofphilosophen Magister Theodorus', *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin*, 9 (1915), 8. The text of the treatise is given (from Marburg, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 9 B, fols. 98v-99r) on pp. 4-7.

voluntas inclinēt, and that *te regas et alios, si te consilium regat*.¹⁷ Theodore mentions at the beginning of the treatise that the emperor is in possession of the Secrets of Aristotle on the preservation of health, where the subject is treated compendiously; it has therefore been assumed that the treatise was extracted from the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum secretorum*.¹⁸ However, a comparison between the two works shows that while Theodore may have followed the basic outline of the *Secretum secretorum*'s second part and may have chosen from among its recommendations those which suited the emperor's physical constitution, his work is basically independent, and occasionally even conflicts with its presumed model. For example, the *Secretum secretorum* considers moving about after a meal as injurious and instead recommends taking a nap, sleeping first on the right and then on the left side; in contrast, Theodore counsels the emperor to take a walk after eating, to defer sleep for two hours, and to lie first on the left and then on the right side.¹⁹

The register of Frederick II's acts from 1239-40, which is the only one extant, sheds light on Theodore's variegated routine in the emperor's service. On 15 December 1239 the emperor puts a sloop, then at Pisa, at the disposal of *magister Theodorus philosophus fidelis noster* who is returning to the realm with his permission; it has been surmised that Theodore may have performed some diplomatic mission abroad.²⁰ On 10 February 1240 the emperor sends Theodore a blank sheet validated by his seal and orders him to write on it, in Arabic, the credentials of two messengers being dispatched to the king of Tunis.²¹

17. Ibid., pp. 4-5.

18. Haskins, *Studies*, p. 247; Kantorowicz, *Kaiser Friedrich II*, pp. 314, 329; similarly, T.C. Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, Immutator Mundi* (Oxford, 1972), p. 310; less emphatically, Abulafia, *Frederick II*, p. 263.

19. See *Secretum secretorum*, ed. R. Steele (Oxford, 1920), pp. 73 (Philip of Tripoli's translation), 198 (English translation of the Arabic original); *Epistola Theodori philosophi*, ed. in Sudhoff, 'Ein diätetischer Brief', p. 5. And see also John of Seville's earlier, partial translation of the *Secretum*, ed. H. Suchier, in his *Denkmäler provenzalischer Literatur und Sprache*, Vol. I (Halle, 1883), p. 477 (for its Provençal adaptation see pp. 206-7, ll. 207-14).

20. *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, ed. J.-L.-A. Huillard-Bréholles, 6 vols. (Paris, 1852-61), Vol. V, Pt. 1, p. 556; M. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, ed. C.A. Nallino, 3 vols. (Catania, 1933-39), Vol. III, p. 712. It is questionable whether *Theodorus vallectus*, whose expenses the emperor orders to cover ten days later, is identical with our Theodore: *Historia diplomatica*, p. 630.

21. *Historia diplomatica*, Vol. V, Pt. 2, pp. 727, 745.

Two days later the emperor orders Theodore to prepare syrups and violet sugar to be used both by himself and by the court. The quantity to be prepared is left to his discretion, sugar and other ingredients are to be placed at his disposal, his expenses are to be refunded, and he is asked to notify the emperor about his health.²² (In an undated letter to the sick Piero della Vigna, Theodore — styling himself *Theodorus philosophus* — announces that he is sending him a small box of violet sugar; he may have believed that it had some therapeutic value.)²³ About the same time Theodore — here called *magister Theodorus phisicus domini Federici* — translated from Arabic into Latin a treatise of Master 'Moamin' the falconer; the emperor himself is said to have revised Theodore's translation during the siege of Faenza (August 1240 - April 1241).²⁴

Theodore also figures prominently in the Old French *La fontaine de toutes sciences du philosophe Sidrach*, a most popular work in the later Middle Ages. The prologue dwells on the changing fortunes of the book and tells that in the days of Emperor Frederick it was in the hands of the lord of Tunis, who agreed that a Franciscan should prepare a Latin translation for the emperor. When the translation reached Frederick's court, 'un homme d'Antioche qui ot non Codre le philosophe, qui moult fut amé de l'emperiere', succeeded in reading it clandestinely and in sending it to Patriarch Obert of Antioch. Codre (or Todre) has been identified with our Theodore, and Obert with Albert of Rizzato, patriarch of Antioch in the years 1227-46.²⁵ Thus the prologue presents Theodore as a major connoisseur of philosophical literature who maintained contacts with his native Antioch during his prolonged stay in the West. On the other hand, a letter purportedly sent to Theodore by

22. Ibid., pp. 750-51.

23. For Theodore's letter and Piero's answer see J.-L.-A. Huillard-Bréholles, *Vie et correspondance de Pierre de la Vigne, ministre de l'empereur Frédéric II* (Paris, 1865; repr. Aalen, 1966), pp. 347-8.

24. For manuscripts of the *De scientia venandi per aves* which contain this information, see H. Werth, 'Altfranzösische Jagdbücher nebst Handschriftenbibliographie der abendländischen Jagdliteratur überhaupt', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 12 (1888), 174; Haskins, *Studies*, p. 318, n. 122.

25. See Huillard-Bréholles' introduction to the *Historia diplomatica*, Vol. I, 1, pp. dxxix-dxxx; O. Hartwig, 'Die Übersetzungsliteratur Unteritaliens in der normannisch-staufischen Epoche', *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 3 (1886), 183; E. R[enan] and G. P[aris], 'La fontaine de toutes sciences du philosophe Sidrach', in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, Vol. XXXI (Paris, 1893), pp. 287-91.

'Al-Kindī, priest and philosopher of the Caliph of Baghdad',²⁶ may have reflected a belief that Theodore, even while in Frederick II's service, continued to receive missives from oriental sages.

Esteem for Theodore was not, however, universal. The Dominican Etienne de Salagnac, who died in 1291, relates that while Frederick II was besieging Brescia — that is, in 1238 — his philosopher, Master Theodore, perplexed several Dominicans with philosophical arguments which they were unable to rebut. Roland of Cremona, the well-known Dominican professor of theology at Paris, heard of their defeat, and, afflicted with gout though he was, mounted an ass and hurried to the emperor's camp to confront Theodore and save his Order's honour. According to Etienne's account, he challenged Theodore to choose a philosophical topic, as well as the format of the debate. Theodore made his choice, and Roland succeeded in utterly defeating him.²⁷ The confrontation may be taken to exemplify the new self-confidence of Western scholasticism *vis-à-vis* oriental learning no longer regarded as superior. Similarly, Rolandino of Padua relates with glee that when Emperor Frederick left Padua in 1239 to punish some enemies, his astrologer, Master Theodore, stood with his astrolabe high up on the Commune's tower, grossly erring in expecting a favourable conjunction of Jupiter in Leo, and utterly unaware of the conjunction which foretold the emperor's imminent failure.²⁸

26. Vienna, Hofbibliothek, MS 512, fols. 13v-15r, contains a letter that begins with the words: 'Prudenti viro amico suo karissimo Theodoro invictissimi cesaris phylosophi Alkindis Alkalif de Badach [*sic*] sacerdos et phylosophus salutem': *Hebraeische Bibliographie. Blätter für neuere und ältere Literatur des Judenthums*, ed. M. Steinschneider, Vol. VIII (Berlin, 1865), p. 41. Marburg, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 9 B, fol. 87v, contains the same letter, but here the sender appears as 'Alkendens Alkadif de Baldato sacerdos': *Aristoteles latinus*, Vol. I, p. 716, No. 1004; also, Sudhoff, 'Ein diätetischer Brief', pp. 8-9; the letter contains the legend of Alexander the Great's expedition to the ferocious people of Central Asia.

27. Stephanus de Salaniaco et Bernardus Guidonis, *De quatuor in quibus Deus Praedicatorum ordinem insignivit*, ed. T. Kaeppli, Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica, Vol. XXII (Rome, 1949), pp. 32-3. On Roland of Cremona see, for instance, G. Leff, *Paris and Oxford Universities in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (New York, 1975 [1968]), pp. 36-7, 198-9.

28. Rolandus Patavinus, *Cronica in factis et circa facta Marchie Trivixane*, ed. A. Bonardi, in *Rerum Italicarum, Scriptores*, NS, Vol. VIII, Pt. 1 (Città di Castello, 1905-8), p. 66; Haskins, *Studies*, p. 247.

The Western sources are silent on Theodore's end. All they divulge is that by November 1250 he had been dead for some time.²⁹ Bar-Hebraeus, on the other hand, devotes a considerable part of his account to this issue. He relates that even while Theodore attained honour and fortune at the emperor's court he longed for his country and people, but was not given permission to leave. He remained, waiting for his chance, which finally came when the emperor went on one of his military expeditions. Theodore, together with his belongings and servants, boarded a ship that was heading for Acre. A wind thrust them into a city where the emperor was staying, and Theodore, out of shame rather than fear, committed suicide by taking poison.³⁰

* * *

How reliable is Bar-Hebraeus' account, the only one to dwell on the oriental beginnings of Theodore's unique career? First, it is important to note that the Jacobite Bar-Hebraeus arrived in Antioch in about 1244, that is, only some 25 years after the Jacobite Theodore had completed his studies. It may well be that the biography of such an illustrious native son of the Antiochene Jacobite community, who had made his way both to the schools of Iraq and to the imperial court of Palermo, was still well known in 1244, and that the 19-year-old Bar-Hebraeus was mature enough accurately to grasp the biographical details. The story about Theodore's end may have reached Antioch in about 1244. Second, Bar-Hebraeus' report about Theodore's studies in philosophy, mathematics, and medicine at Mosul and Baghdad ties in neatly with the Western reports about his activities in Frederick's service. Third, the names of Theodore's oriental patrons given by Bar-Hebraeus can easily be identified, and they make eminent chronological sense. Finally, Bar-Hebraeus' claim that the emperor assigned a parcel of land to Theodore is substantiated by one of the emperor's charters, though the Arabic and Latin names of that landed possession diverge. In sum, there are good reasons for accepting Bar-Hebraeus' account as factual. The only incongruity arises from Bar-Hebraeus' entry on the physician Ya'qūb b. Siqlāb (or Ṣaqlān): there Theodore is identified with the anonymous Antiochene philosopher who, according to Ibn al-Qifṭī, taught in

29. See n. 9 above.

30. See Appendix.

Jerusalem until about the year 580/1184-85.³¹ There are good grounds for rejecting this identification. First, it does not fit the details given in Bar-Hebraeus' entry on Theodore. Second, it is highly unlikely that Theodore would already have been teaching in about 1184 when his own teacher Kamāl al-Dīn only started teaching following his father's death on 6 Muḥarram 576/2 June 1180.³² Furthermore, if Theodore had been teaching in about 1184 he would have been exceptionally old by the time he died. Finally, according to the Persian translation of Ibn al-Qifṭī's work, which appears to reflect a better version of the original Arabic text, the Antiochene philosopher remained in Jerusalem *until his death* in about 580/1184-85.³³ In sum, Bar-Hebraeus' identification of Theodore with the anonymous Antiochene philosopher may be adjudged an editorial oversight, but one which does not cast doubt on the reliability of the details given in the entry on Theodore.

This oversight may have been one of the causes for the vagueness of Theodore's figure in modern historiography. In 1886 Moritz Steinschneider, in an appendix to a densely written article on the study of Euclid among the Arabs, appears to have been the first to suggest that Bar-Hebraeus' Theodore was identical with Frederick II's philosopher, called Codre, the philosopher of Antioch in the *Book of Sidrach*. He weakened his point, however, by accepting as correct Bar-Hebraeus' identification of the Jacobite philosopher with the anonymous Antiochene who taught in Jerusalem in the 1180s.³⁴ Karl Sudhoff wrote in 1915 that he was not persuaded by Steinschneider's

31. *Mukhtaṣar ta'rīkh al-duwal*, ed. Pococke, p. 483; ed. Ṣāliḥānī, p. 443; ed. Beirut n.d., p. 253. Cf. Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'rīkh al-hukamā'*, ed. J. Lippert (Leipzig, 1903), pp. 378-9.

32. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, Vol. V, p. 311; Vol. 7, p. 255.

33. See E. Kohlberg and B.Z. Kedar, 'A Melkite Physician in Frankish Jerusalem and Ayyubid Damascus: Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ya'qūb b. Siqlāb', *Asian and African Studies*, 22 (1988), 116-7, 121; repr. in B.Z. Kedar, *The Franks in the Levant*, No. XII, pp. 116-17, 121.

34. M. Steinschneider, 'Euklid bei den Arabern. Eine bibliographische Studie', *Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik. Historisch-literarische Abtheilung*, 31 (1886), 107-8. In an article also published in 1886, Otto Hartwig remarks that Steinschneider has promised a work on Theodore: 'Übersetzungsliteratur', p. 183, n. 2. Did Steinschneider envisage a more detailed treatment, or did Hartwig refer to the passage in the article on Euclid? Lucien Leclerc had also identified Bar-Hebraeus' Theodore with the Antiochene philosopher who lived in Jerusalem; however, he did not make the connection with the Theodore of the Western sources: L. Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, Vol. II (Paris, 1876), pp. 145, 169.

identification of Frederick's Theodore with Codre of Antioch, 'a Christian who had come to Jerusalem in about 1184'; neither was he convinced of this Theodore's identity with the Jacobite Theodore of Bar-Hebraeus, although Sudhoff acknowledged that many details related about Bar-Hebraeus' Theodore fitted Frederick's Theodore. 'Hier sind noch weitere Untersuchungen nötig', Sudhoff concluded his terse note.³⁵

Yet such investigations were not carried out. Heinrich Suter, who in 1922 published a German translation of Bar-Hebraeus' account of Theodore, did little more than refer to Steinschneider's article.³⁶ Charles Homer Haskins, in his influential *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* of 1924, treated Bar-Hebraeus' account as being no more reliable than the prologue to the largely fanciful *Book of Sidrach* or the dubious colophon according to which the *magnus chalif* sent Theodore to Frederick; consequently, he went so far as to wonder whether Theodore's name was Greek or Jewish!³⁷ It is noteworthy — and probably symptomatic — that Haskins, who meticulously examined the reliability of Western sources, neglected to investigate the trustworthiness of Bar-Hebraeus' account, and entirely overlooked Bar-Hebraeus' Antiochene background, which is so relevant to the issue under consideration. Indeed, one may point to Haskins as the villain of the piece, for it is obvious that his conclusions, incorporated in an authoritative book, were taken over by later historians.³⁸ Theodore's life has highly unusual features, dealing as it does with an oriental Christian who grew up in the Frankish Levant and chose both to master Latin and to pursue higher studies in the realm of Islam before settling down at a major court of the West; the fact that this biography has not been treated with sufficient care explains why much of it has remained obscure for so long.

35. Sudhoff, 'Ein diätetischer Brief', p. 3, n. 3.

36. Suter, 'Beiträge', pp. 7-8. The translation is inexact: for instance, where Bar-Hebraeus says that Theodore studied Syriac and Latin, Suter has him studying Syriac and Greek.

37. Haskins, *Studies*, pp. 246-7, with nn. 18 and 24.

38. See for instance Ch.-V. Langlois, *La vie en France au Moyen Age*, Vol. III: *La connaissance de la nature et du monde* (Paris, 1927), p. 203; Kantorowicz, *Kaiser Friedrich II.*, p. 315.

APPENDIX

Ibn al-ʿIbrī = Gregorius Bar-Hebraeus [Gregorius Abul-Pharajius], *Mukhtaṣar taʾrīkh al-duwal* = *Historia compendiosa dynastiarum*, ed. with a Latin translation E. Pococke (Oxford, 1663), pp. 521-2 (= p. 341 of the Latin part); ed. Ṣāliḥānī (Beirut, 1890), pp. 477-8; ed. Beirut (n. d. [1978-79]), p. 273.³⁹

Among the philosophers of that time was the Jacobite Thādhurī of Antioch. He mastered the Syriac and Latin languages in Antioch and acquired there some of the sciences of the ancients. He then travelled to Mosul where he studied with Kamāl al-Dīn b. Yūnus the works of al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā and solved [problems presented by the texts of] Euclid and the *Almagest*.⁴⁰ He returned to Antioch but did not remain there long because he felt there were deficiencies in his knowledge. He therefore returned a second time to Ibn Yūnus and made ripe whatever in his knowledge had been raw. Then he went down to Baghdad and mastered the science of medicine, overcoming even its most severe difficulties.⁴¹ He then proceeded to the Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn to serve him, but the Sultan considered him to be an eccentric character and so did not make him welcome. He therefore went to the Armenians and served Constantine, father of King Hātām; however, he did not enjoy their company. So he went with a messenger who was there to the emperor of the Franks, who bestowed on him honours and gifts and assigned to him as *iqṭāʾ* [land granted by tenure] the town (*madīna*) of Kamāhā with its environs. When his situation became good and his fortune

39. In all these editions the title is given — probably erroneously — as *Taʾrīkh mukhtaṣar al-duwal*. The work is also known as [*Kitāb*] *mukhtaṣar al-duwal*; see C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, 2nd edn. (Leiden, 1943-49), Vol. 1, p. 428; id., *Geschichte, Supplement*, p. 591 (see n. 5 above).

40. The expression used here (*ḥalla Uqlīdis wa l-Majistī*) is also employed by al-Mubārak b. Aḥmad known as Ibn al-Mustawfī (d. 637/1239) in his *Taʾrīkh Irbil*, in a passage describing the achievements in the 'sciences of the ancients' of Theodore's teacher Kamāl al-Dīn. The passage is cited from Ibn al-Mustawfī in Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, Vol. V, p. 314, and in al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, Vol. V, p. 160. It is not found in the second part of Ibn al-Mustawfī's work, which is the only one so far known to be extant (ed. Sāmī b. al-Sayyid Khamās al-Ṣaqār, Baghdad, 1980). Bar-Hebraeus himself had a particular interest in Euclid and Ptolemy, and lectured on both in the new monastery of Marāgha (see V. Minorsky, 'Marāgha', in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edn.).

41. Literally, 'fettering its wild animals and capturing its refractory ones'.

increased he felt longings for his country and his people but was not permitted to leave. He stayed on until an opportunity arose when the emperor left on one of his military expeditions to the lands of the West. He collected his belongings and possessions and boarded a ship which he had prepared for his escape. He went by sea with those of his servants who were with him, looking for land at Acre. While on their way a wind suddenly blew on them⁴² and thrust them into a [coastal] city before which the emperor had anchored. When Thādhurī was informed of the emperor's presence he took some poison which he had with him and died. [He took the poison] out of shame, not out of fear, for the emperor would not have allowed someone like him to be put to death.⁴³

42. Reading, with Pococke, *idh habbat 'alayhim rīh*.

43. Theodore's biography is cited from Bar-Hebraeus by Aḥmad 'Īsā in his *Mu'jam al-aṭibbā'* (Cairo, 1361/1942, p. 156). The text as given by 'Īsā ends with the sentence: 'His [i.e. Theodore's] death occurred in about the middle of the 7th/[13th] century'. This sentence does not appear in any of the printed editions of Bar-Hebraeus and was probably added by 'Īsā.

The Earliest Documents on the Hospitaller *Corso* at Rhodes: 1413 and 1416

Anthony Luttrell

The Mediterranean world knew many forms of informal naval violence ranging from straightforward piracy to a variety of legalized or quasi-legal activities involving reprisals, privateering and corsairing.¹ The type of *corso* which developed on Rhodes during the fifteenth century was officially licensed by an established authority, the Master of the Hospital, and was limited, in theory at least though often not in practice, to attacks on infidel enemies of the religious order state settled on Rhodes. Such activities fitted into an existing pattern. In the thirteenth century there were already forms of *guerra di corso* in which individuals operated under public control with a licence to attack enemies of the state. Such arrangements may have grown out of permits allowing injured parties to seek indemnities from those who had damaged them, or simply from agreements by which authorities lent vessels to individuals and sometimes financed them. The corsairs had to present *fidejussores* who would guarantee their proper conduct and to promise not to attack subjects or friends of their own state; they were to hand over a portion, often a fifth, of their booty. To profit from this system there emerged professional groups who took high risks and stood to make very considerable gains. The armament of corsair expeditions involved formal notarized contracts and the raising of capital through shares. After expenses had been deducted, profits were divided between the investors, those who played an active role at sea normally receiving a higher return than those who merely provided finance; officers and crews also received shares. Public legislation supposedly controlled such activities, but it could be extremely difficult

1. No attempt is made here to survey the extensive literature on medieval Mediterranean piracy.

to prevent corsairs from attacking friendly shipping or seizing the merchandise of third parties.²

Before the definitive loss of Latin Syria with the fall of Acre in 1291 the Hospitallers possessed or hired shipping, but that was predominantly for transport and supply.³ After 1291 the Order moved its headquarters to Limassol on Cyprus, where its island position compelled it to develop a small navy of its own.⁴ Following their establishment on Rhodes after 1309 the Hospitallers naturally found themselves operating within a maritime milieu in an area in which Latin shipping was involved in innumerable minor actions and assaults, and these frequently led to reprisals, to protests from third parties, and to prolonged court cases and quarrels over jurisdictions. In such situations, the dividing lines between piracy, indiscriminate raiding, corsair ventures carried out under licence, and justifiable attacks on infidel shipping were seldom clear. Around Rhodes the Hospital was initially involved both in sea battles with the Turks, who conducted their own piratical razzias in the Aegean, and in attacks on Christian ships which were breaking the papal prohibitions against transporting slaves and war materials to the infidel.⁵

The old principle that the military orders could retain lands won from the infidel was recognized in 1307 in a papal confirmation of the Hospital's rights to Rhodes which it had conquered from enemies of Christendom, that is from 'schismatic Greeks' and from 'infidels' who must have been Turks.⁶ A statute passed in 1293, the year after

2. See, for example, L. Balletto, *Genova nel Duecento: Uomini nel Porto e Uomini sul Mare* (Genoa, 1983); H. Bresc, 'La course méditerranée au miroir sicilien (XIII^e - XV^e siècles)', in *L'exploitation de la mer: la mer, moyen d'échange et de communication* (Juan-les-Pins, 1986).

3. A. Luttrell, 'Gli Ospitalieri di S. Giovanni di Gerusalemme dal continente alle isole' (forthcoming).

4. A. Luttrell, *The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece and the West: 1291-1440* (London, 1978), No. II, pp. 162-3.

5. A. Luttrell, *The Hospitallers of Rhodes and their Mediterranean World* (Aldershot, 1992), Nos. II and XIX.

6. J. Delaville le Roulx (ed.), *Cartulaire générale de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem: 1100-1310*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1894-1906), No. 4751. A papal privilege to the Temple of 1139 permitted it to retain properties won from the 'enemies of the cross' — *Ea etiam, que de eorum spoliis ceperitis, fidentur in usus uestros conuertatis*: text in R. Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter: Neue Folge* (Göttingen, 1984), pp. 96-103. Cf. J. Brundage, 'Humbert of Romans and the Legitimacy of Crusader Conquests', in *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. B. Kedar (Jerusalem - London, 1992).

the Hospitallers moved to Cyprus, showed that the Order was organizing a naval force and that Hospitaller brethren were commanding vessels. It also indicated that on occasions when there were no *freres darmes*, that is no military Hospitaller brethren, on board, then the *frere de marine* appointed by the *comandor*, perhaps by the Grand Commander of the Hospital,⁷ should command the galleys and other vessels, and that any booty taken should pass to the Hospital's treasury. The implication was that if military brethren of the Order were in command, then they would receive some part of the prizes taken. The statute read:

Item establi est que quant il couendra faire armement de Galee ou dautre vasaus, le comandeor les doie faire aparailer et garner de ce que besoing sera et de mariners. Et se il couient ametre gens darmes que le mareschal les doye retenir, e soient payes au tresor et soient a son comandement. Et si freres uont sur les galees que le mareschal puisse metre .vn frere chevalier sur tout larmement. Et si freres darmes non y uont sur les galees, que le frere de marine que le comandor jmetra soit bailli sur tout larmement et que le gaaign que les galees ou uaisseaus feront que il ueigne tout au tresor.⁸

This statute was soon suppressed,⁹ and was evidently replaced by that of 1300 which defined the powers of the Admiral. The office of Admiral had been created in or shortly before 1299,¹⁰ and the new regulations of 1300 explicitly established that he should receive 100 besants a year from prizes taken by the Hospital's galleys and *lins*.¹¹

These regulations of 1293 and 1300 applied to vessels armed by the Hospital in its role as an institution. Hospitaller brethren were members of a religious order and subject to their Master and, ultimately, to the Pope, but there was apparently no obstacle in canon law to individual members of a military order being licensed for the equivalent of a corsair expedition. Furthermore, at a time when the papacy was

7. However, there were officers who were the Commander of the Ship or the Commander of the Brethren: J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus: c.1050-1310* (London, 1967), pp. 329-30.

8. A hitherto unpublished statute of 1293 in Marseilles, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4055.

9. It is not found in later compilations: *Cartulaire*, No. 4234.

10. *Ibid.*, Nos. 4464, 4469.

11. Statute of 1300 in *ibid.*, No. 4515, para. 13.

encouraging the military orders to seize any Latin shipping infringing the papal prohibitions against trade with the Mamluks and other infidels,¹² it was licit for their members to attack Christian vessels which were breaking those prohibitions. In 1306, for example, Imbert Blanc, the Templar *preceptor* of Auvergne, and Pierre de Lengres, *civis* of Marseilles, who were joint *admirati* of certain galleys destined in *subsidio Terre Sancte*, together with those in their service, were granted by Pope Clement V the right to retain any goods they might take either from *infideles* or from *impii christiani* who were taking prohibited materials to infidel parts.¹³ A papal letter of 1311 asserted the canonical legality of the detention of Genoese shipping breaking the embargo on infidel trade, and in this case such disciplinary action had been carried out by galleys of the Hospital and of others deputed by the papacy for that purpose *ad reprimendum et impediendum transgressores*.¹⁴

The riches to be gained from a major prize could be enormous. An extreme case occurred at Rhodes in 1379 when three Venetian galleys arrived in search of bread and found in the harbour a Genoese *chocha*, the *Bichignona*, with 300 fighting men aboard; it was said to be the largest in the world and worth 500,000 ducats. The Genoese unloaded 18,000 ducats worth of goods and fled; the Venetians commandeered a reluctant Catalan *cocha* in the port with its 200 fighting men and chased the *Bichignona*, capturing it together with 222 prisoners of whom 160 were merchants. The Venetians then sold part of the prize at Rhodes for 80,000 ducats, said to be half of the sale's real worth, and demanded 18,000 ducats from the Master for the goods previously unloaded there.¹⁵ These were not acts of piracy, since Venice and Genoa were at war, but on other occasions the religious aspect of naval operations continued to be emphasized. For example, instructions

12. Luttrell, *The Hospitallers in Cyprus*, No. V, pp. 196-7; id., *The Hospitallers of Rhodes*, No. II, pp. 83-5, 110 n. 3; cf. E. Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1983), pp. 17-44; J. Richard, 'Le Royaume de Chypre et l'Embargo sur le Commerce avec l'Egypte (fin XIII^e - début XIV^e siècle)', *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres: Comptes Rendus* (1984), and S. Schein, *Fideles Crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1274-1314* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 193-4, 231-3.

13. *Registrum Clementis Papae V*, 8 vols. (Rome, 1885-92), Vol. I, Nos. 1034-35.

14. Ibid., Vol. VI, No. 7118.

15. Daniele di Chinazzo, *Cronica de la Guerra da Veniciani a Zenovesi*, ed. V. Lazzarini (Venice, 1958), pp. 218-20; cf. B. Kedar, *Merchants in Crisis: Genoese and Venetian Men of Affairs and the Fourteenth-Century Depression* (New Haven - London, 1976), pp. 77-8, 198-9.

to Venetian captains in 1402 ordered them — acting if possible in collaboration with the forces of Chios, of the Archipelago and of Rhodes — to attack the Turks and their subjects in defence of Christian interests:

debeat ire et discurre et cursizare partes et loca maritima Turchorum et subiectorum Turchis, inferendo eis et galeis et locis atque navigiis et rebus suis quam plura damna poterit pro terrore et exterminio suo et conforto et asecuracione locorum et navigiorum christianorum.¹⁶

However the Venetians, like everyone else, suffered from Christians as well as from Turks. Thus, between 1417 and 1429 they were protesting against attacks by Catalan pirates who were based on Rhodes and who on occasion actually assaulted Venetian shipping in the port there.¹⁷

There was always scope for individual Hospitaller brethren to profit from piratical activities. For example, in 1392 Fr. Adhémar Broutin alias Talebart of the Priory of Auvergne was actively engaged in piracy in the Western Mediterranean, but his unofficial activities were disavowed by the Order.¹⁸ On other occasions the Hospital's own vessels were responsible for piratical attacks, as in 1390 when Genoese envoys obtained the restitution of a galliot from Chios taken by the galleys of the Order which had been conducting the Emperor Manuel II back to Constantinople to restore him to his throne.¹⁹ In or just before 1403 *le galie de Rodi*, presumably the galleys of the Order, had captured a *grande chocha de saraceni* at Damietta in Egypt and many of those on board had been imprisoned in Rhodes; as part of a peace settlement advantageous to the merchants of Rhodes, the Master had subsequently returned the *chocha*, its goods and the prisoners, but

16. Text in H. Noiret, *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire de la domination vénitienne en Crète de 1380 à 1485* (Paris, 1892), pp. 129-31.

17. A. Tenenti, 'Venezia e la Pirateria nel Levante: 1300 c.-1460 c.', in A. Pertusi (ed.), *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV*, Vol. I, Pt. 2 (Florence, 1973), pp. 743, 762-3.

18. J. Delaville le Roulx, *Mélanges sur l'Ordre de S. Jean de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1910), No. XVII; Hospitaller corsairs in Sicilian waters between 1433 and 1444 are noted in H. Bresc, *Un Monde méditerranéen: Economie et société en Sicile, 1300-1450*, Vol. I (Rome, 1986), pp. 341, 344, n. 162.

19. M. Balard, *La Romanie génoise (XII^e - début du XV^e siècle)*, Vol. I (Rome-Genoa, 1978), p. 95.

he then imposed a four per cent tax on the merchandise of all those inhabitants of Rhodes who sailed to Mamluk parts. This tax was to last until it had raised the 12,000 or 16,000 ducats needed to compensate for the loss of the profits from the ship and its goods. The inhabitants stood to gain from the establishment of Rhodian consulates and from favourable tax arrangements in Mamluk ports, and they were apparently being expected to make good the profits which the Order was to lose through the peace settlement.²⁰ To the north in the Aegean the Hospital's ships were also seen as a threat, and in 1415 the Greek monks of the monastery of Saint George on the island of Skyros felt it necessary to issue their ships with safe conducts addressed to the captains of Hospitaller ships which the monks described as carrying the flag bearing the cross and as fighting the infidel.²¹

Such piratical practices initiated by individual Hospitallers apparently developed during the period of great financial strain at Rhodes caused by the schism in the papacy after 1378; this divided the Western priories and greatly reduced the amount of money reaching Rhodes. In 1397, for example, the Catalan brethren complained that the costs of the Order's activities in the East, which included the defence of Smyrna, were being borne by only nine out of twenty-one priories.²² In 1410 there was a serious plague on Rhodes²³ and in that year the situation was so grave that it was almost impossible to pay the Hospital's mercenaries or to bring in essential grain imports.²⁴ These difficulties must have encouraged the Hospital as a whole and certain brethren as individuals to seek profit from certain forms of piracy. For example, at the end of 1411 the *galiota* from the Order's mainland castle at Bodrum, the ancient Halikarnassos just north of Kos, seized from two *barche* of Chios the goods of certain Turks from the jurisdiction of Altoluogo who were in *pax* or truce with the Hospital; however, following complaints from Chios, the Order had to disavow these activities and promise to return the goods. Early in

20. Text in Luttrell, *The Hospitallers of Rhodes*, No. X, pp. 200-201.

21. Text in P. Lemerle *et al.* (eds.), *Actes de Lavra*, Vol. III: *de 1329 à 1500* (Paris, 1979), p. 216.

22. Luttrell, *The Hospitallers of Rhodes*, No. XI, p. 110.

23. Valletta, National Library of Malta, Archives of the Order of St. John, Cod. 336, fol. 13v (kindly communicated by Anne-Marie Legras).

24. Malta, Cod. 339, fols. 204v-205v, 212, 214-216v, 217v-220; cf. J. Delaville le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers à Rhodes jusqu'à la mort de Philibert de Naillac: 1310-1421* (Paris, 1913), pp. 316, 324, and A. Luttrell, 'Rhodes: base militaire, Colonie, Metropole de 1306 à 1440' (forthcoming).

1412 Fr. Louis Asiner, *miles*, and two other Hospitaller *fratres* of noble birth, together with the *consocii* and *marinarii* of Bodrum, sailed in their *galiotta* armed at Bodrum and attacked a Turkish *galiotta* somewhere near Mytilēnē; this they justified by the claim that Hospitaller galleys could attack Turkish shipping outside the Dardanelles: 'cum notorium sit quod galee nostre armate quando reperiuntur in marj extra strictum Romanum cum aliquibus lignis turchorum armatis iuste posce capere et lucrarij'. The defeated Turkish ship transferred its goods to a *galleota* from Mytilini; furthermore, the Hospitaller vessel was wrecked by the men of Mytilini and Jacopo Gattilusi, the ruler of that island, then seized, imprisoned, and tortured the Hospitallers and their crew. At about the same time the Hospitaller captain at Bodrum had to be excused when the Bodrum *galiotta* took cloth from a *grippum* of Chios, and the Hospitallers agreed to return the goods, declaring that Bodrum castle had been built to attack the Turks and not to rob Christians.²⁵

In addition to the activities of shipping belonging to the Hospital as an order, there was a type of *corso* which involved individual Hospitaller brethren in arming vessels entirely at their own expense.²⁶ Thus on 14 April 1413 the Master's lieutenant at Rhodes licensed Fr. Jean de Pietris and Fr. Richard de Pontailier Commander of Ensigné in the Priory of Aquitaine, both of the *langue* of France, to sail against the shipping of the infidel enemy — 'contra infideles inimicos religionis nostre' — and that of their subjects, with the exception of the Orthodox monks of Mount Athos, and to seize their goods. These brethren were not to lose their seniority in the *langue* of France, an important consideration in the struggle for benefices, in consequence of their absence at sea on such ventures.²⁷ This formula apparently

25. Malta, Cod. 339, fols. 233v-234 [267v-268], 234 [268], 236v-237 [270v-271], 237 [271], 237v [271v]: these and other texts, some undated, are utilized, with some inaccuracies, in Delaville, *Les Hospitaliers*, pp. 327-8; Luttrell, *The Hospitallers of Rhodes*, No. II, pp. 103-4; id., *The Later History of the Maussolleion and its Utilization in the Hospitaller Castle at Bodrum = The Maussolleion at Halikarnassos: Reports of the Danish Archaeological Expedition to Bodrum*, Vol. II, Pt. 2 (Aarhus, 1986), pp. 147, 159.

26. There is no evidence before 1413, though licences were not copied into the surviving magistral registers; the texts of 1413 and 1416 published here were copied, quite exceptionally, into an unusual register which was kept, during the Master's absence in the West, by his lieutenants at Rhodes and which included documents of a type not normally found in the Master's 'Libri Bullarum'.

27. Document I below.

excluded attacks on friendly Muslims with whom there was a truce.²⁸ What it could mean in practice was shown when, on 25 August 1413, the Master and Convent issued a safe conduct allowing Anthonius Ruffin, *burgensis* of Rhodes, to bring a case in Rhodes against Fr. Richard de Pontailier who had, with an armed *galioceta*, attacked Ruffin's *gripparia* near Cyprus and seized his goods:

quod te nuper cum quadam gripparia cum mercibus et mercimonijs tuis in bono proposito circa Insulam Cypri nauigante, Religiosus in Christo nobis carissimus frater Richardus de Pontailier, preceptor d'Ansengue, lingue Francie grippariam merces et mercimonia tua, cum quadam sua galioceta armata, sine aliqua ratione occasione uel justa causa vi cepit et spoliavit . . .²⁹

Though all Hospitallers took vows of poverty and technically all property, goods, or money they had in their possession belonged to the Order and reverted to it on their death, there was no serious pretence that individual brethren could not hold lands and houses, accumulate and lend money, establish hospitals and other pious foundations, or otherwise dispose of capital; they were not, however, to indulge in trade.³⁰ An agreement of 1416 showed how Hospitaller brethren could themselves invest in and manage the *corso*. Again the protagonists were from the more northern parts of France. If these were predominantly from the *langues* of France and Auvergne rather than from those of Provence, Italy or Spain, that may have been because the former provided more numerous brethren interested in the *corso* not merely as an investment in wealth or as an expression of enthusiasm for holy war, but also perhaps because they came from a petty rural *noblesse* nourished on an ideology provided by a reading of chivalric romances which may have stimulated them to participate in piratical adventures against the infidel.³¹ Material interests, however,

28. On truces valid on land but not at sea, see Luttrell, *The Later History*, pp. 147, 159; id., *The Hospitallers of Rhodes*, No. II, p. 104.

29. Cod. 339, fol. 255 [289].

30. These questions require a detailed examination of the statutes which are still largely unpublished.

31. This is the hypothesis of M. Fontenay, 'Les Chevaliers de Malte dans le *Corso* méditerranéen au XVII^e siècle', in *Las Ordenes Militares en el Mediterráneo Occidental (s. XII-XVII)* (Madrid, 1989), pp. 393-5 and Table I, who documents a French predominance in the seventeenth-century Hospitaller *corso*.

remained powerful. Fr. Hugues d'Arcy who was Commander of Chalon-sur-Saône, Pontaubert, Bellecroix, and Avalueur, belonged to the Priory of Champagne. Fr. Hugues d'Arcy, *alias la caille*, was repeatedly involved in litigation to secure seniority, preferment, and financial advantage within the Hospital; eventually he secured the Priory of Champagne.³² On 27 March 1416 he appeared before the Master's lieutenant at Rhodes together with Fr. Guidot de *Rauta*. The latter recognized the receipt from Fr. Hugues d'Arcy of 150 Venetian ducats which had been invested in the purchase of a fourth part of a *galeota*; if the vessel captured booty, Fr. Hugues was to receive a fourth of the profit calculated after expenses had been deducted, and if Fr. Hugues had to return to the West his proctor was to collect both the 150 ducats and a quarter of any profit.³³ Though the manner in which expenses were calculated was not specified, Fr. Hugues d'Arcy, a passive partner who was not involved in any personal risk or time at sea, seems none the less to have stood to gain a quarter of the booty.

After 1416 the Rhodian *corso* evolved in various complex ways³⁴ and rules to cover it were gradually established.³⁵ The *corso* acquired

32. Eg., Malta, Cod. 335, fols. 27-8v; Cod. 336, fols. 41v, 42-3; Cod. 338, fol. 81v; Cod. 339, fols. 20v-21, 128v, 164-164v (*bis*), 192; Cod. 346, fol. 25; Cod. 351, fol. 23v.

33. Document II below.

34. This topic awaits study for the period following 1416; for later years, see N. Vatin, *L'Ordre de Saint-Jean-de-Jérusalem, l'Empire ottoman et la Méditerranée orientale entre les deux sièges de Rhodes: 1480-1522* (Louvain-Paris, 1994), pp. 60-63, 85-129, 294-310.

35. A statute of 1462, which insisted that Hospitallers should not arm vessels without written licence, read:

Item pero chauemo visto perli tempi passati succeder molti dampnj, et inco[n]uenienti per casone darmar Nauilij allordine nostro, empero chel çe sono molti freri de nostra Religione che se dillectano et studiano di armar de molte, et uarie factione de Nauilij, Il perche volendo, Nuy de opportuno remedio prouedere per obuier ad cotali dampnj, Statuymo, et ordinamo chel non sian freri de qualunche stato e condicione che se siano che ardiscono ne presuma darmar Nauilio alcuno, zoe come sono carauelle, o, Naue, balloneri, gallee, ne fuste, ne altri nauilij sença spicial liçentia del M[aestr]e la qual liçentia Volem che sia facta inscripto col termino preciso et specificato del tempo che doura star armato tal Nauilio saluo se alcun armasse Imponente per uenire ad Rhodi perli seccorsj dellordine nostro et qualunche contrafara presumendo nauigar, Nuy absolute et Iudicamo et hauemo per Inobediente, et anche proybimo et non volemo chel sia frere alcuno che arma fuste, ne gallee al modo de pirrati, ouero corsari, ne anche volemo chessi vadeno per patron, o, capitaney de cotali Nauilij sel nonli sera concesso de gratia speçial, soto

great importance as a form of state-controlled sea brigandage which became vital to the Hospitallers' prestige and image as holy warriors and also to their economy and that of their port; furthermore, it provided extra naval forces in time of emergency. A traveller of 1521 put the Hospital's total expenses on Rhodes at 97,977 gold ducats and its income at 47,000, remarking that the very considerable difference of some 50,000 ducats was made up from profits made by attacking the Hospital's enemies at sea.³⁶ In 1503 a *barca* armed by a Hospitaller was to pay on any prizes 'el diritto di nove per cento acostumato pagarsi da corsari'; the text did not clarify whether this nine per cent of booty went to the Master or to the Rhodian treasury.³⁷ After 1530, when the Hospital moved to Malta, the system which had emerged at Rhodes continued to function as an important element in the Order's activities until Malta was lost in 1798.³⁸

DOCUMENT I

Malta, Cod. 339, fol. 179v [213v] (14 April 1413)

[Margin] pro f. Johanne de Pietris [(et) al.]

Fr. Lucius de Vallinis [sacre domus hospitalis sanct] Johannis Jherosolimitani humilis marescallus et locumtenens Reverendissimj in Christo patris et domini domini fratris Philibertj de Nahlhaco dei gratia eiusdem sacre domus magistri dignissimi pauperum Christi custodis] ³⁹

penna della priuazione dellabito, et dognj officio et beneficio chauessero, o, che fusser per hauere. Et se al presente sa retrouano alcunj freri Incotali armamenti de fuste, et de gallee, Iudicamo quelli douere essere priuati dellabito de offiçij et benefiçij et donori, selloro non desarmano et lassano In termino duno anno lor fuste et lor gallee et cossi hauemo per declarato.

(Valletta, National Library of Malta, Biblioteca Ms. 501, fols. 329v-330v.)

36. Text in R. Röhrich and H. Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem Heiligen Lande* (Berlin, 1880), pp. 372-5.

37. Malta, Cod. 80, fols. 61-2. Some evidence suggests a tax of ten per cent: Vatin, *L'Empire ottoman*, p. 91, n. 39.

38. The best recent studies are those of M. Fontenay; see also S. Bono, 'Naval Exploits and Privateering', in V. Mallia-Milanes (ed.), *Hospitaller Malta 1530-1798: Studies on Early Modern Malta and the Order of St. John of Jerusalem* (Malta, 1993), with bibliography.

39. The full title is taken from fol. 179.

Religiosis in Christo nobis carissimis fratribus Johannj de Pietris et Richardo de Pontaillier preceptorj Dansigny ⁴⁰ lingue nostre Francie Salutem in domino. Sperantes quod per strenuitates vestras Dej et patronj nostrj iuvamine mediante viriliter gerere debeatis contra Infideles Inimicos Religionis nostre, aduersus quos magnj feruore affectu adire pro honore sancte fidei Orthodoxe et nostre Religionis, Idcirco licentiam vobis assensum pariter et consensum, armandj quandam galiottam vestram, et cum ea nauigandj et remigandj ac guerram contra Infideles Inimicos Religionis nostre ac eorum subiectos et subditos, detractis calogeris montis sanctj,⁴¹ et eorum bonis quibus in aliquo non jntendimus agrauare seu dampnificare per vos seu aliquem vestrum, et quidquid de ipsis seu eorum Rebus ceperitis ad vestrum beneplacitum faciendj de voluntate consilio et assensu Religiosorum in Cristo nobis carissimorum dominorum fratrum baliuorum et procerum⁴² nostrj conuentus Rodj concedimus et Impertimur Cum tali prerogatiua ut in consequendo muneribus et beneficijs nostre Religionis habeaminj ac si essetis personaliter in conuentu Rodj residentes de voluntate et assensu pillerij ceterorumque fratrum lingue Francie in conuentu Rodj degentium,⁴³ mandantes vniuersis et singulis subditis nostris, ac non subditos sed amicos nostros obsecremus, ut in hijs vobis nostrj ⁴⁴ contemplatione, auxilium consilium prebeatis et iuvamen. datum Rodj sub sigillo nostro quo in talibus vtimur.⁴⁵ die xiiij mensis aprilis. Anno a natiuitate dominj m^o. iiij^o. xiiij^o.

DOCUMENT II

Malta, Cod. 339, fol. 264v [298v] (27 March 1416)

die vigesimaseptima marcii anno incarnationis dominj millesimo quadringentesimo decimosexto comparuerunt in lobia coram domino locumtenente⁴⁶ fratres Hugo Darsi de Chalon, et Guidotus de Rauta,⁴⁷ quiquidem Guidotus confessus fuit debere predicto de Chalon Darsi,

40. Ensigné, Priory of Aquitaine (Diocese of Sèvres).

41. *Mons Sanctus*: Mount Athos.

42. *dicti* crossed out.

43. *residentes* crossed out.

44. *Sic*.

45. In the Master's absence, his lieutenant is using his own personal seal.

46. The Master was in the West; his lieutenant at Rhodes was Fr. Luce de Vallins.

47. Or *Rarita*: unidentified.

summam centum et quinquaginta ducatorum venetorum per dictum Darsi eidem Guidonj traditorum pro empcone quarte partis eorum galiote,⁴⁸ de quaquidem parte quarta fuit contentus predictus frater Guido . . .⁴⁹ quod si ipse lucrum inde consequeretur quod predictus Darsi expensis deductis consequeretur, quartam partem ratione quarte partis galiotte. Et si contingeretur quod predictus Darsi rediret ad partes occidentales ante auentum et regressum dictj G[uidoti] et galiote quod procurator dictj Darsj posset securare a dicto G[uidoto] dictos centum et quinquaginta ducatos uenetos cum quarte parte lucrj si quod in viagio sequeret.⁵⁰

48. This implies that a *galiota* could be purchased for 600 ducats.

49. A line covers the erasure of several words.

50. This text was not a sealed bull but simply an official note or record copied into the lieutenant Master's register.

From Crete to Jerusalem: The Will of a Cretan Jew (1626)

Chryssa A. Maltezos

For the Jews on Venetian Crete, as elsewhere, Jerusalem symbolized the hope of return, the deliverance from the sufferings of the Diaspora.¹ This feeling is eloquently expressed in the will of a Cretan Jew, Abraham Balanzas, son of the late Rabbi Judhà, and inhabitant of the *Judaica* in Candia, which is dated 16 November 1626. Abraham, about 60 years old, went to the house of the public notary Giacomo Cortesan to draw up his will, having decided to travel to the Holy Land, where he wished to end his life 'by the Grace of God'. The text of this will provides interesting information which adds to our knowledge of the history of the Jews on Venetian Crete.²

The preservation on the one hand of their ancestral institutions and customs and their adaptation, on the other, to the environment in which they lived are characteristic features in the historical course of the Jews who resided in the Greek regions under Venetian domination. From this point of view, the relevant references mentioned in our source are worthy of attention. Thus, Abraham Balanzas declared in his will that

1. With this phrase David Jacoby concluded his article entitled 'Quelques aspects de la vie juive en Crète dans la première moitié du XVe siècle', *Proceedings of the III International Congress of Cretan Studies*, Vol. 2 (Athens, 1974), p. 117, repr. in id., *Recherches sur la Méditerranée orientale du XII^e au XV^e siècle*, No. X (London, 1979). I should like to thank my friend and colleague Benjamin Arbel, who read the article and made valuable suggestions.
2. From the extensive bibliography on the Jews of Venetian Crete, see St Xanthoudidès, 'The Jews in Crete during the Period of Venetian Domination', *Kretiki Stoa*, 2 (1909), 209-24 (Greek); J. Starr, 'Jewish Life in Crete under the Rule of Venice', *American Academy for Jewish Research, Proceedings*, 12 (1942), 59-114; M. Hereti, 'Unpublished Venetian Documents on the Jews in

he knew only Hebrew writing and that for this reason he undersigned the text of his testament in Hebrew.³ None the less, as is evident from his will, his language was Greek, in particular the local dialect of the Cretans. As a consequence, his will was drawn up in the spoken Greek of the time, written by the notary in the Latin alphabet. Abraham, like the other Cretan Jews, was, it seems, in continuous communication with the local element of the island. Not only did his daughter bear the Greek name 'Parigoria' (indicative of the Spanish origin of the family since it is a translation of the Spanish name 'Consolation'), but also the two witnesses present at the drawing up of his will were Greeks; moreover, one of them, Meletios Vlastos, was a hieromonk.⁴ The influence of the local parlance can be clearly seen in the case of the Hebrew name 'Sabatai' which appears in the Cretan diminutive form 'Sabatachi'. Abraham's son-in-law, the Rabbi Sabatachi Sacerdoto, is mentioned as bearing this name.⁵

Crete', *Epetēris Eterias Byzantinōn Spoudon*, 33 (1964), 163-84 (Greek); Z. Ankori, 'Jews and the Jewish Community in the History of Mediaeval Crete', *Proceedings of the II International Congress of Cretan Studies*, Vol. III (Athens, 1968), pp. 312-67; D. Jacoby, 'Venice, the Inquisition and the Jewish Communities of Crete in the Early 14th Century', *Studi veneziani*, 12 (1970), 127-44, repr. in id., *Recherches*, No. IX; Z. Ankori, 'The Living and the Dead: The Story of Hebrew Inscriptions in Crete', *American Academy for Jewish Research, Proceedings*, 38-9 (1970-71), pp. 18ff; D. Jacoby, 'Un agent juif au service de Venise: David Mavrogonato de Candie', *Thesaurismata*, 9 (1972), 68-96, repr. in id., *Recherches*, No. XI; E. Santschi, 'Contribution à l'étude de la communauté juive en Crète vénitienne au XIV^e siècle, d'après des sources administratives et judiciaires', *Studi veneziani*, 15 (1973), 177-211; Jacoby, 'Quelques aspects'; Z. Ankori, 'Giacomo Foscarini e gli Ebrei in Creta', *Studi veneziani*, 9 (1985), 67-185; D. Jacoby, 'Venice and the Venetian Jews in the Eastern Mediterranean', in G. Cozzi (ed.), *Gli Ebrei a Venezia* (Milan, 1987), pp. 29-58; A. Papadia-Lala, *The Monte di Pietà of Candia (1613 – Mid-Seventeenth Century): A Contribution to the Social and Economic History of Venetian Crete* (Athens, 1987), pp. 35-9 (Greek).

3. See document below, ll. 248-50. Cf. also C.N. Sathas, *Bibliotheca graeca medii aevi*, Vol. 6 (Venice-Paris, 1877), pp. 661-2, who has published a will of a Jew written in Greek from the year 1496, where the testator signs in Hebrew.
4. See document below, ll. 36, 274, 276; also Sathas, *Bibliotheca graeca*, p. 663 (where Greek witnesses are mentioned in a will of a Jew). Many Jews in Crete, as in the whole of Romania, had Greek names (Sathas, *Bibliotheca graeca*, pp. 662-3, 686; Jacoby, 'Venice, the Venetian Inquisition', p. 133).
5. See document below, ll. 37-8, 132-3. For the Hebrew name 'Sabbatai' ('Sabbetay') and its Cretan diminutive, see Jacoby, 'Venice, the Inquisition', 130 and n. 16; cf. Ankori, 'Giacomo Foscarini', 119. The Jewish family of the

The Jewish Quarter in Candia, the capital of Crete, which dated back to the Byzantine period and which was designated in the local dialect as *Ovraki*,⁶ is reported in the will of the Cretan Jew with whom we are here concerned. Abraham, an inhabitant of the *Judaica* in Candia, owned a house in the part called *Megalo Pigadhi*, namely Great Well, undoubtedly connected with the tanning of leather conducted there by the Jews.⁷ The internal organization of the Jewish community, which aimed at maintaining the cohesion and unity of its members and which performed a mediatory role between the Jews and the local Venetian authorities,⁸ is also recorded in the text of the will. The testator mentions the *Dettori* (*Dottori*), the *Gerondes*, the *Condostavlos* (*Condestabulo*), and the *Camerlenghi*.⁹ While the *Condostavlos* (the elected communal leader)¹⁰ and the *Gerondes* (the elders of the community) appear in their Greek form, the *Dettori* (eminent and learned men) and the *Camerlenghi* (heads of the cashier's office) are attested in their Italian form. The use of the two types, both Greek and Italian, illustrates the phenomenon of the Jewish adaptation to the Graeco-Venetian society of this period. As representative of the *Judaica*, the *Condostavlos* together with the other eminent members of the community were obliged to participate in the procession that took

Sacerdoti is often mentioned in the Graeco-Venetian sources of Crete: e.g., Lazarus Sacerdoto is attested in 1319 as *conestabilis* (Santschi, 'Contribution', 205); Sambatio Sacerdote q. Casini is mentioned in a document of 1361 (A. Lombardo, 'Cittadini di Creta e commercianti cretesi a Cipro nella seconda metà del sec. XIV da un cartolare notarile rogato a Famagosta, 1360-1362', *Proceedings of the II International Congress of Cretan Studies*, p. 135, repr. in id., *Studi e ricerche dalle fonti medievali veneziane* [Rome, 1982], p. 302); Abram de Sacerdoti q. Mosè was a seventeenth-century poet (N. Panagiotakis, 'Research in Venice', *Thesaurismata*, 5 [1968], p. 88 [Greek]).

6. On the Jewish Quarter in Candia see Ankori, 'Giacomo Foscarini', 91-4 (where the previous bibliography is noted), and Jacoby, 'Venetian Jews', 37. In three documents (wills of Jews written in Greek) from the years 1496 and 1503, the *Judaica* is attested in Greek as Ioudaia (Sathas, *Bibliotheca graeca*, pp. 661-2, 687).
7. See document below, ll. 51-6. For the Great Well which is mentioned in 1518 by the *condestabulo* Elijah Capsali, see Ankori, 'Giacomo Foscarini', 114, 149 and n. 162.
8. Cf. Jacoby, 'Quelques aspects', 115-16; id., 'Venetian Jews', 41; Papadia-Lala, *The Monte di Pietà*, p. 37.
9. See document below, ll. 24-5, 210-11.
10. On the office of the *condostavlos* see Santschi, 'Contribution', 205; Jacoby, 'Venetian Jews', p. 41.

place in Candia when a new Latin archbishop was promoted to the archiepiscopal see.¹¹

Strong religious feeling is evident in the text of the will. Our testator began his testament by seeking forgiveness from 'our lord God, the angels, heaven and earth, then from the Sacred Old (*Agio Paleò*) which was given to us by Moses on Mount Sinai. . . .'¹² The term *Agio Paleò* most probably refers to the law of Moses. Abraham gave concrete instructions to his son on the way in which he wished his death to be announced: when the news that he had died (in Jerusalem) arrived and had been confirmed by the testimony of two 'good' Jews, his son or his heirs were to summon the notary and the four priests of the *Judaica*, called in Hebrew *ghazanim* (= *Hazanim*, chanters). They were then to stand in the doorway of the house, and the notary, accompanied by the chanters and about ten other persons, was to read out and publish the will. Each priest was to be given one Cretan ducat and would undertake the obligation to commemorate his death every Saturday near the *Paleò*, according to custom.¹³ Furthermore, the sum of 35 *hyperpyra*, taken from the rent of a workshop which he owned, was granted to the *Smaij* under the conditions he himself wrote in the 'Book' of the *Judaica*.¹⁴ Two silver lamps owned by the testator and delivered by him to the son's wife and the son's brother-in-law (*cugnado*), Rabbi Giaco Ghuli, were also to be sent and delivered to the *Smaijdhia* by his son.¹⁵ His son and heir were enjoined, under oath and the threat of excommunication, never to sell these lamps and never to mortgage them. In the same way as the testator employed the lamps in the *Smaijdhia*, so his son was to ensure that they be sent to be blessed, in whichever *Smaijdhia* he chose, on days of the Jewish feasts such as Passover and the New Year.¹⁶ It is obvious that by *Smaij* a sacred place is meant, namely the synagogue, and that the plural *Smaijdhia* refers

11. M. Petta, 'Documenti di storia ecclesiastica relativi agli ultimi anni del dominio veneto a Creta conservati nell'archivio della S. Congregazione di Propaganda fide', *Proceedings of the II International Congress of Cretan Studies*, p. 216; A. Papadaki, *Religious and Secular Ceremonies in Crete under Venetian Domination* (Rethymnon, 1995), pp. 49-50 (Greek).

12. See document below, ll. 20-23.

13. Ibid., ll. 231-7.

14. Ibid., ll. 112-19.

15. Ibid., ll. 156-7. The Chouli (Ghouli) family was one of the most affluent Jewish families recorded on Crete: cf. Ankori, 'Giacomo Foscarini', 139; a member of this family, Rabbi David, is noted in 1496 (Sathas, *Bibliotheca graeca*, p. 662).

16. See document below, ll. 157-69.

here to the four synagogues of Candia.¹⁷ The word is recorded, as far as I know, in two documents. The first, dated to 1503, is the will of the Jewess Keranna, wife of Liacho Thicara, inhabitant of the *Judaica* in Candia. According to the will (written in Greek), the testatrix donated a pair of silver apples to the *masghidhion*.¹⁸ The second is an Italian document dated to 1572, by which an order was given to the painter Matteo Vitzamano in Candia to gild and to deliver within eight days to the Jew Avugha Malafti *le roche che metono nella lor smaida*.¹⁹ There can be little doubt that here we are dealing with the word 'masgid' (mosque) which appears in a transliterated form as *Smaij* — *Smaijdhia*. But let us return to Abraham's loyalty to the 'lord God' and to the ancestral religious customs of the Jews. Thus, in his will we find a clause concerning the Jewish cemetery in Candia. If, after his death — as stated in his will — the *Judaica* ever decides to buy a piece of land to be used for the burial of the Jews, he directed that for the purpose of the purchase of land 25 *hyperpyra* be taken from the rent of his house, and that the *condostavlos* and *camerlenghi* be given this sum for the commemoration of his soul.²⁰ Furthermore, again for the commemoration of his soul, his son was appointed to pay for the burial of up to five poor Jews over 15 years old, whether male or female, in the way he thought fit.²¹

Abraham Balanzas was a well-to-do Jew, as one can easily conclude from the contents of his will. He had endowed his daughter with the appreciable sum of 3,000 ducats and he had granted her 100 more ducats after his death.²² Besides the house inherited from his parents where he lived, he owned at least two other houses and a workshop,²³ which all constituted a considerable source of income. The houses, one of which had two storeys, as well as the workshop, were rented out and the names of the tenants are recorded in the will: Michiel Bili, called Cazzarà, Samuel Machielaris (= a butcher), son of Ghassuli, the Rabbi

17. On the synagogues in Candia and their number see Ankori, 'The Living and the Dead', 18-32; Jacoby, 'Quelques aspects', p. 116. According to the suggestion of B. Arbel, *Smaij* phonetically sounds close to the Hebrew *Shmà* (= 'Hear') which might be used here as a shortened form of the name of the prayer *Shmà Israel*, often recited in Jewish religious service.

18. Sathas, *Bibliotheca graeca*, p. 687.

19. M. Constandoudaki, 'The Painter Matteo Vitzamanos and the Decorative Painting Commissioned by Jews in Candia', *Thesaurismata*, 15 (1978), 131 (Greek). The erroneous transcription of *sinaida* must be corrected to *smaida*.

20. See document below, ll. 206-17.

21. *Ibid.*, ll. 217-22.

22. *Ibid.*, ll. 36-7, 174-202.

23. *Ibid.*, ll. 50-55, 98-9, 105-7, 110-14.

Giosef Russo, called Martha.²⁴ According to the will, his son and his heirs could neither sell nor put up for mortgage the house inherited by his parents.²⁵ A clause of the will shows the concern of the testator to ensure that the property remained in the family. Since, as the testator points out, Mosaic law allows the marriage of first cousins, his wish was that his grandchildren should intermarry provided that their parents agreed. It is interesting to note that the Jew was bequeathing the paternal house where he lived to his grandchildren only if the marriage was between his son's son and his daughter's daughter; if the marriage was to be between his daughter's son and his son's daughter, then his grandchildren would not inherit the paternal house (which would then be bequeathed to his son), but another one bought by him from Barbignia's mother, Argiri.²⁶

We know nothing about the profession which enabled Abraham to buy houses and to build a workshop. As for the position held by him in the Jewish community, we know that he belonged to a family, many of whose members, as for example, the Ghuli and the Sacerdoti, were wealthy. Abraham is a typical representative of Jewish society on Venetian Crete. Despite the difficult moments recorded in their history in the last decades of the sixteenth century, on account of the intolerance of the Christians,²⁷ the Cretan Jews, whether wealthy financiers, merchants, tanners, physicians or poor servants and nurses in Christian homes, accepted the influence of the Cretan environment while remaining true to their traditions. The result of the long proximity of the two elements was that the Jews ended up expressing their feelings and thoughts in the local dialect, employing the local Cretan idiom with an admirable facility.

THE DOCUMENT

16 November 1626

Archivio di Stato di Venezia, *Notai di Candia*, b. 67
(*Giacomo Cortesan*), No. 24

Summary: Intending to travel to Jerusalem, where he wishes to die, being about 60 years old, Abraham Balanzas, son of the late Rabbi Judhà, inhabitant of the 'Ovrachi tu Castru', went to the house of the

24. Ibid., ll. 52-4 ,110-11.

25. Ibid., ll. 122-6.

26. Ibid., ll. 87-110.

27. Cf. Xanthoudidès, 'The Jews', 220-22 ; Ankori, 'Giacomo Foscarini', 82-4.

public notary, Giacomo Cortesan, to draw up his will before his departure. He asks forgiveness from God and all those who enjoyed His Grace. He gives his blessings to his children, son and daughter. He names his son, Judhà, as his heir and testamentary executor. He has already given to his daughter, Parigoria, married to the Rabbi Sabatachi Sacerdoto, 3,000 ducats as a dowry (deeds of 1607 and 1616, notary Michiel di Ba . . .). One of the houses he owns, having two storeys ('anogi and catogi'), rented today to Michiel Bili, called Cazzarà, and to Samuel Machielaris, son of Ghassuli, and situated in the part of the 'Ovrachi' called 'Megalo Pigadi', will continue to remain his own property; he will decide later, in the place where he will be, on its fate, in a separate will, written in the presence of Jewish witnesses in his own hand in Hebrew (because it is the only writing he knows). He bequeaths his paternal house to his grandchildren, the son's son and the daughter's daughter, in the case that they marry each other, since Mosaic Law permits marriage between first cousins; if the marriage be between his daughter's son and his son's daughter then the couple will inherit not the paternal but another house, one of those he had bought from the mother of Barbinià, called Argiri, which today is rented to the Rabbi Giosef Russo, called Martha. None of his heirs will have the right to sell or to mortgage the paternal house. He grants from the income of his house, rented today by . . . Medegti (?), the sum of 35 *hyperpera* to the synagogue (*Smaij*) in the manner he had stated in the 'Book of the Ovrachi'. In the case that his son will die without a testament, his son-in-law, the Rabbi Sabatachi Sacerdoto, and his relative by marriage (*sibethero*), the Rabbi Salomon Ghuli 'Dettore', with the aid of the grandchildren's mother and their uncle (*barba*), the Rabbi Giaco Messariti, will see to the division of the property between the children. On days of Jewish religious feasts his son is appointed to send to any of the synagogues he chooses (*Smaidhia*) the two silver lamps the testator himself used to employ on such occasions. He grants 100 ducats to his daughter to be taken from the income of his house. He grants money to the 'Ovrachi' in the event that the Jewish community should decide to buy land for the burial of Jews. His son is appointed to pay for the burial of poor Jews. He leaves instructions to his son on the way he wants his will to be published after his death. On the bottom of each folio of the paper on which his will is written he has put his signature in Hebrew.

Laus Deo 1626

adi 16 novembre, ² nella città di Candia*

³ Me ti voithia tu afendi tu Theu, estondas chè ego o Abraam
⁴ Balanzas, Evreos, potè Rabbi Giudhà, caticumenos is tin ⁵Ovrachi tu
 Castru, na elibberarissa na pago me ti voithia ⁶tu afendi tu Theu isti gi
 tin Agia, opu loguade ta Ge⁷rossolima, o opios na ine dhialemenos simà
 istù ⁸afendi tù Theù, ogià na stathò edhechi is tuton ton ⁹ogligo chierò,
 apu na theli i ghari tu na me vastaxi ¹⁰acomì, igu na apothano edhechi,
 chè thorondas chè ¹¹stoghasondas ochiè to prama ene callo na
 parav¹²gerni o athropos ci dhuglies tu, toso plia iss emena ¹³is ci ettas
 apu evriscome, ghronon appresso puoco ¹⁴exinda chè forsi pliateron,
 giaftós ethelissa simero ¹⁵chè irtha isto spitti essena tù Giacumi
 Churtesa, no¹⁶dharo publicu, me to thelima ci psighis mu chè me ¹⁷ti
 fantasia mu tin cagli chè me dhighos strenzerisma ¹⁸apo tina. Chè sittò
 protas chè o legomenos nodharos ¹⁹na grafi, ista tu lego chè
 evriscondas me sostos isto ²⁰nun, protas sitò sibathio apu to megalotato
²¹afendi Theo mas chè apu ci angelus tu chè apu ton ²²uranon chè ti
 gi chè doppo apu to Agio Paleò, ²³apu mas edhoche o Moyssis isto oros
 tu Sinà, chè a²⁴comì apu ci afendes ci Dettorus mas chè apu ci
²⁵Gerondes mas chè apu passa ena apu na ine isti gra²⁶tia tu afendi tu
 Theu. Sittò sibathio chè paradhi²⁷dho ti psighi mu sima iston afendi to
 Theò, onde theli ²⁸na tine pari. Ossa lego apano pos ine calla camomeno
²⁹na paravggerni o athropos apano isci dhuglies tu, prota ³⁰dhidho tin
 efchi mu ton pedhio mu, igu tu assirnicù ³¹chè tu thilicù, chè thello me
 ti dhinami tu afendi ³²(1^v) tu Theù chè o gios mu o protodhocos mu,
 apu acui Giudhà, ³³na eghi olo mu to prama, eci stabele ossan chè
 movele, ³⁴eci apu mu irthane apu ci goneus mu, ossan chè echina ³⁵apu
 egorassa chè ectissa; ché estondas ché ti thiga³⁶tera mu tin Parigoria na
 eggho pandremegni chè na ³⁷din eggho pruchismegni me to Rabbi
 Sabbatachi Sacer³⁸dotto chè apomirasmegni me tris ghigliadhes
 dhucata ³⁹apu ton agusto ci 1607 fenete chè eggho tine apo ⁴⁰mirasmegni
 dhia ghiros tù potè afendi Michiele di Ba . . . ⁴¹nodharo, cathos fenete
 me sigurtà, opù o anthes mu gam⁴²bros mu cane ci 4 agustu 1616 dhia
 ghiros tu ano⁴³the nodharo, chè ine apomirasmegni apo patricà ⁴⁴chè
 mitricà, cathos isse chino fenete, ghia taftos chè ⁴⁵tin simeron ci dhidho
 chè echinis tin efchi mu ⁴⁶chè otti thello grapsi epà apo cato pos ci
 affino chè me⁴⁷ta tuttìn tin condetion xeghorista affino ton igio ⁴⁸mu
 istin cleronomia, eci isse stabele ossan chè ⁴⁹movele, me olus ci

**In this document the original spelling of Greek in Latin letters naturally has been preserved.*

modhus chè condetiones opu edho ⁵⁰graffo chè oghi se allo moddho. Apu ta opia olla ta ⁵¹spittia, apu tu affino, thello chè to ena apo echina, ⁵²igu anogi chè catogi, opu tin simeron stechi ni⁵³chìu isto catogi o Mighael Bili, ditto Cazzarà, chè ⁵⁴isto anogi <0> Samuel Machielaris, igios tu Ghassuli, opu ⁵⁵ine isti merà ci Ovrachis, opu to lessi Megalo Piga⁵⁶dhi, tutto to spitti, anogi chè catogi, thello na ine ⁵⁷chè na pomegni tu theglimatu mu na to camo, cathos ⁵⁸fenete ista matia mu, chè thello grapsi me to i⁵⁹dhio mu gheri chè me martirus, igu iston topo ⁶⁰opu thello iste, chè echino na xasi passa chieron apu ⁶¹na eghi ti sottoscrition mu apo cato ovreca, giatti ego ⁶²dhen categho isse agli forma isto caratere, apune ⁶³sottoscriveri epà apo cato is tuto mu to testamento, ⁶⁴(2^r)chè na mi xasi ise allo modho, is canena chieron allo tes⁶⁵tamento imita to simerino, giatti ego pote mu dhen icama ⁶⁶allo testamento, chè opu theli vrethi gi parangelia gi ⁶⁷allo na ine comeno chè annulladho chè na mi xasi ⁶⁸parà etutto, opù ego apografo me to idhio mu gheri, eci ⁶⁹apo edhò ossan chè apo passa cosmo, evganondas isto ⁷⁰spitti opu evastaxa tu theglimatu mu iss echino mo⁷¹naghà na xasi isse otti ithela apograpsi me to idhio mu ⁷²gheri ti sottoscritio mu chè me martirus Evreus, es⁷³tondas chè echi dhen ine nodhari chè opian oran ⁷⁴thegli na siasi i sottoscrition echignu, opu thelo cami ⁷⁵chè apu thello testari isse chino to spitti, meta tutti ⁷⁶opù ego cano simero is tuto mu to testamento me dhio mar⁷⁷tirus calus Evreus na . . . arussi is ti sottoscrition ⁷⁸dos na xasi chè oghi aglias logis; chè si per caso ⁷⁹chè ithele na laghi o thanatos isti stratta gi echi ⁸⁰chè na min eghe camomena, os anothe, na giagerni ⁸¹chè na pomegni iston idhio mu igio to Giudhà ⁸²me ci condesiones, opu grafo edho catto; chè apu ⁸³ta spittia apu afino tin simeron tu giu mu na ⁸⁴gricande doppo tu thanatu mu, opu na thelassi ⁸⁵erthi dhio Evrej na omossussi apano isti psighin dos, ⁸⁶etotes na eghi theglima o nodharos na to publicari ⁸⁷to paron mu testamento; chè estondas chè isti leze ⁸⁸tin edhichi mas, ti mosajichi, na ine licito na esmi⁸⁹gone isse pandrigia ta prota exadherfia chè na ⁹⁰vriscunde ti simero pedhia evlogitica tu giu mu, ⁹¹assirnico chè thilico, allon toso chè ci thigate⁹²ras mu, thilico chè assirnico, chè egapu chè ⁹³ithele i psighi mu, a thelussi i goneij tos na smixussi ⁹⁴eci assirnico ossan chè thilico apu ti mia merà ⁹⁵chè apu tin agli thello chè agn issos chè erthus⁹⁶si d'accordho, igu o gios mu me to gabro mu, na dhossi ⁹⁷(2^v) o gios mu ton igion du na pari ti thigatera tu gabru mu, the⁹⁸lo chè to spiti mu, apu ego steco simeron, apu to eghe ⁹⁹apu ci goneus mu, na ine gharisma ton idhio mu engognio, ¹⁰⁰igu tu giu mu tu giu chè ci thigateras mu ci thi¹⁰¹gateras; chè isse per caso chè dhegn ithelassi cami ¹⁰²pedhia, na giagerni tu giu mu to anothe spitti; chè ¹⁰³agn issos chè ithele o gabros mu na dhossi ton asserni¹⁰⁴con du

na pari to thilico tu giu mu, thello chè apo ¹⁰⁵ta spittia mu, ta opia egorassa apu ton Barbignia ge ¹⁰⁶puri apu ti mana du, tin chierà Argiri, me to dho[ma] ¹⁰⁷lego chè camera, thello na ne gharisma ton idio mu ¹⁰⁸enggogno ton anothe, camnondas pedhia na ine ¹⁰⁹edhicon dos, adhe haleos na giagerni iston cleronomo ¹¹⁰mu ton igio mu ton anothe; to opio spitti stechi si ¹¹¹mero nichiu o Rabbi Giosef Russo, detto Martha; ¹¹²acomì apu to argastiri apu ectissa, opu ine apoca[to] ¹¹³ista megala mu spittia, stechi simero nichiu ichi ¹¹⁴smena (?) i del Medegti (?) ithela afissi apu to nichì tu ¹¹⁵iperpira trianda pende na ta dhosussi isto Smaij ¹¹⁶me ci patus che condetiones opu igrapsa isto libro ¹¹⁷Ovrachis, apogrameno apu ti ghera mu, na ta dhidhi [o gios] ¹¹⁸mu chè i cleronomitadhes tu os ton eona pandote ¹¹⁹chè ollo, cathos echi, fenete is to libro ci Ovrachis; ¹²⁰ta opia ola mu spittia ine libbera che franca ¹²¹apo passa gravame ta affino tu giu mu ise cond . . . ¹²²chè to spitti apu steco, apu ine apu ci gon[eus mu], ¹²³potè na min bori na to puglissi udhè na to cl . . . ¹²⁴udhè echinos udhè pedhia tu udhè ta enggognia [tu], ¹²⁵an laghi o casos, udhè na to valune amaghi isse ¹²⁶canena chieron, ma ta apomonargia ola na ine ¹²⁷tu theglimatu tu isse pena aforesmu, as sighores[si] ¹²⁸opia ora ithele contrafari o gios mu gi i clerono ¹²⁹mitadhes tu isse otti grafo edhè; chè afendis o the[os] ¹³⁰(3^r)na min to ithele orissi chè o gios mu na ithele apotha ¹³¹gni chè na min eghi testamento thello che affino ogia ¹³²commessarius iss ola mu ta stabele to gabro mu, to Rabbi ¹³³Sabbathachi Sacerdotto, chè to sibethero mu, to Rabbi ¹³⁴Solomo Ghuli, Dettore, categhondasci isse cali gnomi ¹³⁵chè etutti apano is ti psighin dos me tin interveni ¹³⁶entia chè ci manas na despensarune to stabele ¹³⁷olo to dhico mu anamessa ista pedhia tu giu mu, eci ¹³⁸isse thilica ossan chè assirnica, os cathos tosse fe ¹³⁹nete per consentia apano is tin psighin dos, chè a ¹⁴⁰n eghussi defferentia na crasussi che to barban dos ¹⁴¹ton pedhio, to Rabbi Giacomo Messariti, categhondastone ¹⁴²caglis consentias, chè otti thelussi sententiari chè ¹⁴³na mirassussi ta pedhia, na ine calla camomena, ¹⁴⁴sotto pena isse privation opio pedhi ithele contra ¹⁴⁵dhiri otti ethelassi cami i anothe che etutto ¹⁴⁶isse passa chiero, opu o gios mu ithele apothagni ¹⁴⁷dhighos testamento, opu o theos na min to orissi. Tin ¹⁴⁸paraggelia mu tin anothe, opu ego cano simero, gnorisondas ¹⁴⁹chè categhondas ton igio mu to pos itone calo mu pedhi ¹⁵⁰chè is tin obedientia mu panda chè ine chè tin simero ¹⁵¹chè pote dhen agnixe to stomandu na mu sitixi pruchio ¹⁵²ci manas tu, giataftos ego me ogli mu tin cardhia thelo ¹⁵³che afinotone cleronomo chè ressiduarion me ci ¹⁵⁴modhus chè condeciones os anothe; tu opiu mu igiu ¹⁵⁵messa ista alla, opu tu epresenatarissa, tu edhoca chiè ¹⁵⁶dhio candiles argires sima isti ginecan du chè isto ¹⁵⁷cugnadhon du to Rabbi Giacomo Ghuli, is ci

opies cadiles argi¹⁵⁸res tu icama prettesto chè orco megalo me pena¹⁵⁹aforesmu potè na min ci puglissi chè na dhossi chiè ¹⁶⁰ordignia ton cleronomitadon du to idhio na min ci pu¹⁶¹glissune udhe na ci valune amaghi, ogiatti categho ¹⁶²chè ine calo mu pedhi chè ime certos istes paran¹⁶³gelies mu apu tu dhidho na cami, estondas chè ci candiles ¹⁶⁴(3^v)ci anthes na ci adoperarissa ista smajdhia, thello chè ¹⁶⁵ego pandotes na adoperarunde chè na ci pebune ¹⁶⁶ista smajdhia, eci o gios mu ossan chè i cleronomi ¹⁶⁷tadhes tu artismenes isse scoles, opu emis eghome ¹⁶⁸tosso plia to megalo savato chiè tin arghighrognia, ¹⁶⁹chè na ci pebune isse opia smajdhia thelussi ; chè ¹⁷⁰isto lasso, apu efica apu to nichì tu argastiriu ¹⁷¹tu dhicu mu, na dhidhussi perpira triandapende, me ci ¹⁷²modhus apu epograpsa isto libro ci Ovrachis, thelo ¹⁷³apano is . . . da recever echinos chè i cle¹⁷⁴ronomitadhes tu isse passa fora . Acomi estondas chè tin ¹⁷⁵thigatera mu tin Parigoria na din egho pruchismeni ¹⁷⁶chè pandremegni chè na ine commodola iss ollon ¹⁷⁷echino, ossan calo mu pedhi, thello chè affino ci ¹⁷⁸na ci dhidhi o anthes mu igios commessarios chè re¹⁷⁹siduarios mu dhucata ecato is tossa metrita, apo ¹⁸⁰i perpira octo, soldia dhodheca to catha dhucato, meta ¹⁸¹tuttin tin condetion, isse canena chieron na min ¹⁸²dhen regti udhe na girevgi apu don adherfon zi ton anothe ¹⁸³camias logis prettension, igu cleronomia apu cathe ¹⁸⁴logis modho chiè stratta chè apo catha logis at¹⁸⁵tion chè giurisdiction, opu is ti fantasian ci na ¹⁸⁶ighe logiassi o na ci begni, eci echigni, ossan chè ¹⁸⁷agli ogia onoman ci, giati meta tutto to modho ci ¹⁸⁸afino ta anothe dhucata ecato gia mia fora mo¹⁸⁹naghas; chiè isse per caso ithele morieri gi tu adhe[r]¹⁹⁰fu ci gi ton cleronomitadhon du ¹⁹¹echini gi agli opu echigni camias logis orismo gi . . . etottes the ¹⁹²na ine comeno chè annulladho to lasso etutto, ¹⁹³evganondas dheca dhucata gia ti psighi mu chiè ¹⁹⁴ta apominargia na pomenussi iston anothe mu ¹⁹⁵igio over is ci cleronomitadhes tu; chè ta anothe ¹⁹⁶(4^r)dhucata ecato apu ci affino me tus modhus chè condetiones, ¹⁹⁷os anothe, thello na ci ta dhidhi is tutto to modho o gios ¹⁹⁸mu nane obligadhos na nichiasi to spitti apu cratiso ¹⁹⁹isto thelima mu, anogi chè catogi, chè apu ta nichia ²⁰⁰aftane na plerogni o gios mu ta ecato dhucata, camno²⁰¹das tu sigurta in tutto et per tutto pos dhen eghi na ca²⁰²mi tivoci apo logu tu isse canena chieron. Acomi thello ²⁰³chiè doppio apu theli publicaristi is ta ghergia tu ²⁰⁴parondos notariu etutto mu to testamento, doppio tesseris ²⁰⁵ghronus na pergni to anothe lasso i thigatera mu me ci ²⁰⁶modhus che conditiones os anothè. Acomi thello chiè ²⁰⁷isse canenan chieron doppio tu thanatu mu ithele ghri²⁰⁸asti i Ovrachi na zonzeri chè na gorassi ghorafi ogia ²⁰⁹ta mmimata ta ovrecha, obligaro ton igio mu, a²¹⁰gorasondas chè robborarondas i Ovreij gi puri <o> condo²¹¹stavlos

che i camerlenghi, apu thelussi iste ton chieron ²¹²echino, thello na dhidhi dhucata icossi pende apo iperpira ²¹³octo, soldia dhodheca to dhucato, is ti ghera dos chiè etutto ²¹⁴ogia sibathio ci psighis mu chè etutto passa chieron ²¹⁵apu naghi effetto i agora tos; chè ta anothe dhucata 25 ²¹⁶na dhidhunde apu ta nichia tu spitiu, apu eghe tu ²¹⁷thelimatu mu, os anothe. Acomi thello chè os pende ²¹⁸Evreus, gineches gi andres, apo dhecapende ghrono ²¹⁹che apano, ithelassi apothagni chiè na min eghussi ²²⁰dhinami na camu ta endafia tos, obligaro ton igio mu ²²¹na ci endafiasi me to modho, apu echinu thegli a²²²ressi, chè etutto ogia sibathio ci psighis mu. Acomi ²²³thello chè onde nerthi to mandato pos epothana me ²²⁴martirgià dhio callon evreon, os anothe, na piegni ²²⁵o gios mu o anotes gi i cleronomitadhes tu na catevasussi ²²⁶to nodharo is tin porta tu spitiu mu chè na perni ²²⁷chè ci tesseris papadhes ci Ovrachis, apu ci lessi ²²⁸ovreca ghazanini, chè na esmigussi eos dheca ²²⁹(4^v)nomati is tin porta tu spittiu mu me tin sindrofia tu ²³⁰anote nodharo na dhiavasete chè na publicarete ²³¹etutto mu to testamento, chè na dhidhi ena dhucato ²³²critico passa enus apu ton tessaron ghazanini, ogia ²³³naghune obligo catha savvato, cata tin osanza, ²³⁴na anaferi sima isto Paleò to thanato mu ²³⁵me to modho apu to ci theli dhossi o gios mu chè o ²³⁶gabros mu dhia grafu sima isto Paleò, cata tin osan ²³⁷za mas. Acomi thello passa logis paranggelia gi ²³⁸puri testamento gi ghirografo, opu na ithele vrethi, ²³⁹gi ovreco gi ghristianico na ne .comeno che a²⁴⁰nulladho, ossan na min ithele gegni potè chè ²⁴¹dhe thello na xasi allo imita to testamento etutto, opu ²⁴²egò ordhiniaso tin simeron me oles ci condetiones, ²⁴³apu edho paravggerno chè grafo aglithinà; a²⁴⁴gn issos chè erthi paranggegglia testamento isto ²⁴⁵spitti, apu ifica a libertas mu isse otti thello grafi ²⁴⁶echi, chè na ine apogrameno apu ti ghera mu chè²⁴⁷ na gnoristi is ti dhichiossini libberamente pos isse ²⁴⁸tutomu na . . . me ti sottoscrition, apu thello cami ²⁴⁹isse tutto mu to testamento evreca, giatti ego ise ²⁵⁰allo modho dhen categho me orcon, dhio callon evre²⁵¹on martiron apò epà, etotes na xasi se otti thelli ²⁵²grafi isse chino mu to testamento to evreco, igu apa²⁵³no isto libbero spitti, ma isse allo tivoti dhe the²⁵⁴lo na valo udhè na evgalo chè thello chè pa²⁵⁵racalò to testamento mu etutto na ine accett[a]²⁵⁶dho che veveon is ton eona, me ci modhus chè ²⁵⁷condetiones, os anothe, chiè i efchi mu na ine ista ²⁵⁸pedhia mu chiè is ci cleronomitadhes tos chiè oti ²⁵⁹me efotisse o theos echino icama, chè thello ²⁶⁰iste perscosos an emancarissa, chè ine allo ti[vo]²⁶¹ci, opu ego olupiso chiè na min isfala, giatti eci ine ²⁶²(5^r)i orexis mu chiè i fotissis tu thelimatu mu. Erotithica ²⁶³ipo tu parondos notariu, an thello na grapso alon ti²⁶⁴votas gi na affisso gi na paranggillo chiè epocri²⁶⁵thica ughi, monon to paron mu

testamento na ine ²⁶⁶panda stereon chè veveon, mono xecathariso chiè
²⁶⁷o anthes mu igios na ine che commissarios mu a²⁶⁸pu tin simeron
chè echithes, cathos thegli fagni ²⁶⁹chè me mian commission apu tu
thello cami, ossan ²⁷⁰to idhijo mu cormi; chè etutto mu to testamento
ine ²⁷¹camomeno isse tris coles gharti, gramena ta tessera ²⁷²fila eos
edhò chiè apogramena apu to gheri mu ine ²⁷³ola ta catevatà.

²⁷⁴Ego Meletios, ieromonaghos, Vlastos, martiras paracallemenos,
²⁷⁵presentes ista anothe che ipegrapsa.

²⁷⁶Ego papa Manoglis o Cudhumnis, martiras paracaleme ²⁷⁷nos,
presentes ista anothe che ipegrapsa.

²⁷⁸S.T. et io Giacomo Curtesà, nodaro publico, pregato scrissi et
robboravi.

*At the bottom of each folio is the testator's signature, and attestation
confirming the contents of the will:*

אני אברהם בלנצש הנו[כר] המצוה לכתוב מודה כל הנו[כר]*

* Thanks are due to Minna Rozen who deciphered the Hebrew lines.

The Jewish Moneylenders of Late Trecento Venice: A Revisitation

Reinhold C. Mueller

The occasional presence of Jews in Venice prior to 1508 and to their segregation in the ghetto in 1516 remains a topic of unsure contours.¹ While Jewish merchants came and went and Jewish medical doctors can sometimes be found practising, the only sector of economic activity in which one can clearly define the periods and nature of the Jewish presence is that of moneylending. The prohibition of pawnbroking in Venice itself was a pluri-secular tradition. A Venetian law of 1254 forbade 'manifest' usury *tout court* in the city and in about 1301 Doge Pietro Gradenigo boasted that Venice and Venetians were more free of the taint of usury than other peoples² — and that in a period when the pawnbrokers were Christians and were relegated to nearby Mestre, then still foreign soil. In 1483, well over a century after Jews had been invited to lend money in Mestre and in many other cities and towns of the Veneto where they took the place of Christian usurers, Marin Sanudo wrote of the castle of Mestre: 'Qui sta molti Zudei et à una bella sinagoga; et quivi se impegna, perchè Venitiani non vol Hebrei stagi a Veniexia'; and a decade later he again noted, with undisguised

1. Documents that mention Jews in periods not regulated by charters leave open the question of their juridical status. There are several cases, pointed out by David Jacoby, in which Jews, at various times during the Quattrocento, were accused of having had sexual intercourse with Christian women in Venice; see D. Jacoby, 'Les Juifs à Venise du XIV^e au milieu du XVI^e siècle', in A.G. Beck *et al.* (eds.), *Venezia centro di mediazione tra Oriente e Occidente (secoli XV-XVI). Aspetti e problemi*, Acts of the international convention, Venice, 1973 (Florence, 1977), pp. 163-216 (esp. 181-2). See also B. Ravid, 'The Legal Status of the Jew in Venice to 1509', *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, 54 (1987), 169-202.
2. 'Terra nostra et cives nostri sunt omnes alios huius mundi ab usurae maculis mondiores. . . .' A.S. Minotto, *Documenta ad Bellunum, Cenatam, Feltria, Tarvisium spectantia* (Venice, 1871), Sect. I, p. 84 (the context was a suit concerning the penalty formula then commonly used in Venetian loan contracts).

satisfaction, that Jews were prohibited from lending in Venice: 'Et nota una eccellente cosa di Venetia che niun Zudio, sotto grandissime pene, puol tegnir banco d'imprestar qui a Venetia danari, ma ben a Mestre'. An anonymous French tract of about 1500 similarly points out that Jews did not live in Venice but in Mestre, where they lent at usury of 15 per cent on the security of pawns. The lenders were permitted to come to Venice periodically only to oversee the sale of unredeemed pawns left by Venetians, at auctions organized by the magistracy of the *Sopraconsoli dei Mercanti*.³ The only period in the Middle Ages during which Jews were invited to lend in Venice, an exception to the rule, were the years of the economic crisis following the war of Chioggia, a short period of fifteen years, 1382-97, governed by two charters or *condotte*. That interlude has been studied primarily on the basis of laws and of notarial acts.⁴ The scope of the present note is to add to the picture as it is known from the testimony of correspondence, business accounts, and criminal records on two unconnected themes, the dissatisfaction of the Jews in 1388-89 and their readiness to abandon Venice, and the intercultural tie between Venice and the Jews of Spain, victims of the 'pogroms' of 1391.

3. R. Brown (ed.), *L'itinerario di Marin Sanudo per la terraferma veneziana nell'anno 1483* (Padua, 1847), p. 117, where Sanudo writes that the castle of Mestre lay ten miles by water from Venice, a fact that obviously increased the cost of loans on collateral; A. Caracciolo Aricò (ed.), *De origine, situ et magistratibus urbis Venetae ovvero la città di Venetia (1493-1530)*, (Milan, 1980), p. 136. For Sanudo's notes of 1514-15 on Jewish bankers, already established in Venice, and the subterfuges ('manzarie') they employed in order to increase their rates of interest beyond the legal limit, see *ibid.*, pp. 195, 209, 265-66; compare Jacoby, 'Les Juifs à Venise', 192, n. 133. The passage in the tract entitled *Description ou traictie du gouvernement et regime de la cité et seigneurie de Venise*, Ch. 34 (regarding the *Sopraconsoli*), reads: 'Lesquelz juifz ne demeurent pas à Venise mais ilz demeurent en une petite ville qui est près Venise environ quatre lieues nommees Mestre ou ilz tiennent des banques et baillent à usure et prouffit de XV pour cent pour chascun an et ne peuent prendre en gaige fors sceulement des biens meubles et non pas biens immeubles'. A critical edition of this tract is being prepared by Ph. Braunstein and R.C. Mueller.
4. See R.C. Mueller, *The Procuratori di San Marco and the Venetian Credit Market: A Study of the Development of Credit and Banking in the Trecento* ([1969], New York, 1977), Ch. III, Pt. 4 (summary in *Journal of Economic History*, 30 [1970], 240-3); *id.*, 'Charitable Institutions, the Jewish Community, and Venetian Society', *Studi veneziani*, 14 (1972), 62-74; *id.*, 'Les prêteurs juifs de Venise au Moyen Âge', *Annales, ESC*, 30 (1975), 1277-1302. Also Jacoby, 'Les Juifs à Venise'; Ravid, 'The Legal Status', 173-82.

I

The very articles of the second charter, negotiated in late 1385 but effective beginning 21 February 1387, contained the seeds of dissension.⁵ While under the earlier charter Jews were lending at legal rates of interest of 10 per cent on pawns and 12 per cent on written and notarized personal guarantees, the new agreement left it to the community of lenders to choose whether to retain these maximums and pay a tax of 4,000 ducats per year to the commune, or to avoid the tax but lend at maximums of 8 per cent on pawns and 10 per cent on written guarantees. The Venetian side hoped for the former option, and foresaw that more Jews would be attracted to come to lend in Venice under those conditions. On the basis of the notarial acts that constituted the written guarantees and that are extant for the period in which the new charter was in effect, however, it is clear that the Jews opted for the second solution, for the acts indicate without exception the maximum allowed rate of 10 per cent.⁶ That means that they foresaw lending a total amount annually of less than 200,000 ducats — the limit beyond which it would have been to their advantage to pay the annual tax and charge the higher rates. Moreover, even before the senatorial committee had been named to negotiate the new charter with the Jews, the ducal councillor Pietro Morosini, proponent of early renegotiation, had sustained his position by saying that the Jews had let it be known that they were willing to lend at 8 per cent, especially if the charter were to extend their sojourn till the year 1400.⁷

While the new charter was valid for ten years, that is, not quite until the goal of 1400, the ceiling of 8 per cent placed on loans granted on pawns seems to have created dissension when the charter went into effect. The Jews were willing to lend on pawns of high value, as is to be expected and as they demonstrated in 1387 when three Jews lent

5. The original and official copy, in a register of Senato, Secreta, is no longer extant; fortunately, a copy was made in a capitulary: Archivio di Stato, Venice (hereafter ASV), Sopraconsoli, b. 1, fol. 66v.

6. I had previously based this conclusion on only three acts (see 'Prêteurs juifs', 1285, 1295). Since then I have seen many more, in particular those of the notary Marco Raffanelli, who dealt regularly with Jews and recorded not only their loans, beginning in 1388; see ASV, Cancelleria inferiore, notai, b. 168-70.

7. ASV, Senato Misti, reg. 39, fol. 120 (4 Aug. 1385), not passed. When he represented the bill, which then passed (*ibid.*, fol. 139v, 1 Sept. 1385), Morosini substituted the phrase concerning the rate of 8 per cent with a more generic 'quod sint [isti Judei] contenti de prestando ad quam minus poterunt'.

some 40,000 ducats to Antonio della Scala, at the request and under the guarantee of the commune of Venice, on the family jewels of the former lord of Verona — whether at interest or not is undisclosed. On the other hand, they were unwilling to lend relatively small sums on pawns of lesser value at 8 per cent interest, a rate of profit that they knew would be much reduced by administrative and warehousing costs. This was the complaint brought against them by the ducal councillor Michele Contarini and the head of the Forty Rosso Marino on 24 September 1388; their proposal, passed in the Senate, sought to force Jews — under pain of fine — to lend on petty surety. The very existence of the Jews in Venice, they said, was countenanced especially for the aid of the poor, those in need of loans for sums of 30 ducats and less. Such applicants for loans, with pawns in hand, were being turned away by the Jews on the pretext that they had exhausted their supply of lendable capital; or they were indeed receiving loans but were forced, by devious and underhanded methods, to pay high rates of usury.⁸ On the same day, a law proposed by the same two men warned Jewish pawnbrokers under pain of heavy fine not to accept — from clerics or others — pawns that were objects of cult: altar paintings, chalices, statues of saints, and other furnishings of churches. In both cases jurisdiction was given to the *Sopraconsoli*.⁹

Tension between the authorities and the Jewish community remained high during the following months. While the authorities, in the last article of the new charter, had promised to identify a quarter where the Jews could stay together, in rental properties, 'for their own convenience',¹⁰ and had failed to do so, the same head of the Forty, Rosso Marino, repropoed in October 1388 the same obligation that the state had assumed earlier, but now in the sense of a necessary segregation. The 'honour of the state' was at stake and the Jews, scattered in various parishes throughout the city, were to be given a quarter 'where they would have to stay together . . . and

8. ASV, Senato Secreta, reg. E (original), fol. 38v. The charter had been renewed, the law states, 'spetialiter pro subventionem pauperum personarum et, sicut clare constat, istud non servatur ullo modo, quia ipsi Iudei alicui pauperi persone volenti mutuo ducatos 30 vel inde infra nolunt aliquid mutuare, sed sciunt ipsi Iudei tenere modos extraneos et indirrectos cum maximis usuris subtus manum cum desertatione pauperum personarum, quod est totum contrarium intentionis terre'.

9. Ibid., fol. 39r.

10. '[Q]uod per nos providentur de stantia eorum, ita quod poterunt stare simul pro comodo eorum'.

separate from others.¹¹ On 31 December a proposal placed before the Senate stated that the Jews were 'indignati et turbati' against the authorities as a result of the law of 24 September which sought to force them to lend sums of 30 ducats or less to the poor; to make their opposition to the law felt, they were refusing to lend the money necessary to get the Flanders galleys off. The bill, which counted on the Provveditori di Comun to force them to lend, was too harshly worded to gain a majority and failed after four ballots.¹² The tension between the two communities reflected in the proposal did not abate; on the contrary, over the next six months it increased and came to a head in the following summer.

This is the immediate background to the letter written from Venice in August 1389 by Biagio di Ruberto of Siena and addressed to the government of his native city¹³ (see Appendix, Document I). Biagio was a merchant active in trade with Venice by 1380; he went bankrupt

11. ASV, Senato Secreta, reg. E (original), fol. 41v (24 Oct. 1388). When recalling the clause from the charter, Rosso substituted 'debere' for 'potere' and dropped the phrase 'pro comodo eorum': the charter, he said, 'contineatur quod debeat provideri de loco vel stantia ubi isti Iudei debeant stare insimul, et usque ad presens nil factum fuerit nec provisum, quod non est bene factum, quia ipsi Iudei non possent stare peius sicut stant ad presens; et pro honore terre nostre faciat providere super hoc, ita quod ipsi Iudei stent insimul per se et seperati ab aliis in aliquo loco abili et sufficienti pro eorum stancia'. The law was passed with only 12 nays and 3 'non sinceri' votes.

12. ASV, Senato Misti, reg. 40, fol. 143v (31 Dec. 1388). The proponents, the Savi agli Ordini, praised the September law as 'sancta et iusta et secundum Deum et equitatem et honorem nostre dominationis; et sicut sentitur, clare et manifeste, dicti Iudei sunt indignati et turbati propter dictam partem, que eis non placuit nec placet. . . '.

13. This letter was kindly passed on to me in photocopy by Gene Brucker; my transcription was checked against the original and corrected by Giuliano Catoni, who also checked the relevant series of deliberations in the Archivio di Stato di Siena (Concistoro 148-50, Consiglio generale 196 as well as the rest of the correspondence in Concistoro 1826) without finding any echo of the writer or of the matters touched upon in the letter. My sincere thanks to both. For the background on the Sienese side, see S. Boesch Gajano, 'Il Comune di Siena e il prestito ebraico nei secoli XIV e XV: fonti et problemi', in *Aspetti e Problemi della presenza ebraica nell'Italia centro-settentrionali (secoli XIV e XV)*, ed. S. Boesch Gajano, Quaderni dell'Istituto di Scienze Storiche dell'Università di Roma, Vol. II (Rome, 1983), pp. 175-225.

in Venice in 1394.¹⁴ In the present instance, he appears as representative of the Sienese government, which had engaged his services specifically in relation to contacts with the Venetian Jewish community. Clearly, news of the dissension existing among Jewish lenders in Venice had spread widely and the news had prompted Siena to try to lure them away from Venice to the Tuscan city. Biagio recounts that when he arrived in Venice on 16 June, the hostility ('dischoncordia') of the whole Jewish community against the authorities had reached a peak and many lenders were leaving Venice for such centres in the Veneto as Treviso, Padova, Vicenza, and Verona. He recalls to the government of the Nine that he had already reported to them on his first meeting with the leaders of the community, when he had invited the Jews to Siena. This was still the situation in early August, when Biagio received orders dated 21 July to continue trying to convince them to move to Siena, which he did and promised he would do once more before leaving Venice again.

At this point, however, we must suspend the chronological commentary on Biagio's relation, for in the meantime a move had been made by the Venetian authorities that was meant as a compromise measure, though it may not have satisfied the Jews. On 22 June the ducal councillor Michele Giustinian proposed a series of eight amendments to the charter of 1385, in the hope of eliminating the major points of contention.¹⁵ The clauses themselves, he stated, were intended to modify a text (not extant) that the Signory had passed on to the *Provveditori di Comun*, chief negotiators with the Jewish lenders. The thrust of the proposal was this: the Jews would raise among themselves a special fund of 20,000 ducats, to be lent in amounts of 1-30 ducats at

14. He is mentioned as being involved in shipping wheat to Venice during the war of Chioggia in the account book of Zaccaria and Tommaso Talenti (ASV, Procuratori di S. Marco, Citra, b. 141, fols. 1v, 25v, 1380); he is recorded in 1391 as dealing in pearls for a Venetian nobleman (ASV, Giudici di Petizion, Frammenti antichi, b. 10, quaternus testificationum, fol. 17r-v, 30 Jan. 1391); the bankruptcy is known first from a letter by the merchant Salvi di Giovanni Lippi written from Venice to his partners, the Del Bene, in Padua: 'Biagio di Ruberto è falito; à debito da 20,000-25,000 [ducatal]'; Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Del Bene, b. 49, No. 64 (26 Aug. 1394); then from the safe-conduct granted in early 1395, on which see G.I. Cassandro, *Le rappresaglie e il fallimento a Venezia nei secoli XIII-XVI* (Turin, 1938), p. 118, n. 2, citing Senato Misti, reg. 43, fol. 47. He is never labelled as citizen of Venice and thus seems not to be the son of the 'Rubertus qui fuit de Senis' who was naturalized in 1384, after residing in Venice for 15 years; Senato Misti, reg. 38, fol. 98.

15. ASV, Senato Misti, reg. 41, fol. 15.

8 per cent interest; they could not be forced to lend sums of less than one ducat nor more than the stated total at any given time. A certain turnover among the Jews was foreseen: the departure of one lender would reduce the total by the amount he had agreed to contribute, but a new arrival would in turn have to contribute to the fund. The remaining clauses were largely attempts at reducing friction by defining the kinds of security (such as boats and iron objects) that the lenders could refuse to accept and the manner of redeeming pawns. The proposal was defeated in three ballots. But a solution was in sight that differed little from this proposal and it is Biagio di Ruberto who reports it.

Sometime in July the Venetians (whom Biagio calls 'questi ricchi') came to an agreement with the community. The Jews would lend on pawns of high value, such as silver and spices, at 8 per cent, and on personal guarantees at 10 per cent; furthermore, they would institute a fund (after the manner suggested by Giustinian) of 50,000 ducats to lend in small sums — in fact from 1 to 30 ducats — to the poor, 'at 10 per cent' (seemingly an error for 8 per cent, as we shall see presently).

Agreements made that summer and autumn between Venice and newly arrived nuclei of Jewish lenders all indicate the specific portion of the special fund that each newcomer would contribute, and all fix the interest at 8 per cent. The brevity of some of the accords — six to eight weeks — probably means that the lenders were stepping in momentarily to keep the total available up to the figure of 50,000 ducats reportedly agreed upon. Those who remained in Venice on the basis of the charter of 1385 had presumably worked out within the Jewish *universitas* itself the contribution of each to the fund, as had been proposed by Giustinian. The few supplementary, short-term agreements to lend 'ad minutum' that are extant can be summarized as follows:

DATE	LENDER	AMOUNT	TERM
1389		(in ducats)	
12 July	Levi and his sister	5,000	1 Sept.
3 Aug.	Simon, Jacob and Solomon, brothers, of Nuremberg	3,000	1 Oct.
3 Sept.	Joseph 'de Vult' and his son-in-law, Ansel of Nuremberg	4,000	to open on 1 Oct.
9 Sept.	Moses son of Joseph de Francia	2,000	15 Oct.
1392			
23 Dec.	Robert of Nuremberg	2,000-4,000	—

Their contributions represent only a small portion of the whole fund. The newcomers were otherwise bound by the terms of the second charter, that is, they could lend unlimited amounts of money at 8 per cent on pawns of high value or at 10 per cent on personal guarantees recorded in notarized contracts. In the contract of 1392, Robert ('Ber') agreed to lend 'ad minutum' half of whatever capital he disposed of.¹⁶

Two final observations are worth making on this episode and regard conditions in both Venice and Siena. First of all, extant documents, largely notarial and only now being studied, suggest that the role of Jewish women was important in the organization, not only of the *universitas* but of the pawnbanks themselves during this last decade of residence in Venice. The fact that a contract was made with 'Levi and his sister' — unnamed in the document — indicates that a woman could form an essential part of a family company (*fraterna compagnia*). Furthermore, several documents reflect the independent lending activity of a certain Guotela Rapin, *iudea*, who in one case lent 2,000 ducats on jewels belonging to Carlo Malatesta of Rimini, with the very wealthy citizen merchant Tommaso Talenti as guarantor. She and other women obviously had considerable freedom to operate on their own, for we find them coming and going, and granting power of attorney to persons meant to act in their name during their absence.¹⁷

Secondly, the aspiration of the commune of Siena to attract Jews away from Venice by inviting them to lend in Siena came to naught both because of the agreement finally reached between the Jews and Venetian authorities and because of the state of war in which Siena found itself. On the one hand, Jewish lenders had decided to remain in Venice and maintain the flow of credit, still in demand on the part both of the well-to-do and of the poor. The compromise according to which a special fund was set aside for small loans for the poor relieved the tension that had characterized relations between the two communities during the previous year. On the other hand, the Jews of Venice had

16. 'Les prêteurs juifs', nn. 58-9.

17. ASV, estate of Tommaso Talenti (see n. 14 above), copies of acts of the notary Marco Rafanelli (Aug. 1392-Feb. 1393). See also that notary's cartularies (see n. 6 above), which mention Guotela and other Jewish women; the volumes are preceded by indices (*rubriche*) which permit identification of the parties who took the initiative in formalizing the acts. Jewish women have been found to have had an active role in lending also elsewhere and in other periods; see the observations of K.R. Stow and S. Debenedetti Stow, 'Donne ebreë a Roma nell'età del ghetto: affetto, dipendenza, autonomia', *La rassegna mensile di Israel*, 52 (1986), 67-8.

been informed — as Biagio wrote — that Siena was at war with Florence and that enemy troops had entered Sienese territory (on 20 July they had reached the very walls of the city), creating a situation of dearth and social tension that further reduced the attractiveness of the Sienese invitation.¹⁸ Biagio had met again with a leader of the Jewish community, which had promised to send a representative to Siena to negotiate directly, but news of the military situation caused the discussions to be suspended. Finally, Biagio's letter indicates that the government of the Nine at the same time was carrying on negotiations with other Jewish lenders, for he advised his superiors to reject any agreement that would permit interest rates exceeding 15 per cent per annum; on the basis of his experience in Venice, albeit in a much larger credit market, he clearly felt that an agreement with lower rates could be obtained; the facts would prove him wrong, for Siena was forced to agree to a ceiling of exactly double the rate Biagio had envisioned.¹⁹

II

A second episode, which can contribute to our understanding of intercultural relations in the Mediterranean world in the same years, takes us initially outside Italy. In a letter of 19 July 1391, the correspondent of the company of Francesco di Marco Datini in Barcelona, Giovanni Jacopi, reports to the main office of the company in Florence, in the midst of detailed commercial information, on the 'pogroms' that were taking place in Spain at the time: in Castile, in nearby Valencia, and finally in Barcelona, where he was an eye-witness of events (see Appendix, Document II). It is not my aim here to delve into a topic that has been much studied in depth and in breadth.²⁰ Suffice it here to underscore some of the points made by this merchant who in part relays information received from Valencia, in part recounts his own

18. *Annales Senenses*, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, XIX (Milan, 1731), cols. 390-92 (owed once again to the generosity of Giuliano Catoni) and Boesch Gajano, 'Il Comune di Siena e il prestito ebraico', 188, n. 26.

19. The Sienese charter of 1392 set a ceiling of 30 per cent on secured loans; Boesch Gajano, 'Il Comune di Siena e il prestito ebraico', 188-9.

20. See, for the general context, A. Foa, *Ebrei in Europa dalla peste nera all'emancipazione, XIV-XVIII secolo* (Bari, 1992), pp. 109-16; on Barcelona in particular, Ph. Wolff, 'The 1391 pogrom in Spain. Social Crisis or Not?', *Past and Present*, 50 (1971), 4-18; for a recent careful reconstruction of the facts, Luis Suárez Fernández, *Judíos españoles en la Edad Media* (Madrid, 1980), Ch. VIII, 'La solución total', esp. pp. 205-21.

observations. First of all, after describing the marauding and despoiling, the killing and the forced conversions in Valencia, Giovanni writes that the authorities there — he singles out ‘il ducha’, the *infante* Martin — did their best to protect the Jews against the populace and had some of the agitators hanged. He seems to tie the strongest reaction of the authorities to news that the next target of the rioters, after the Jews, was to be the *barrio* of the ‘mori’. Finally, the correspondent — on 19-20 July — foresaw the decisive assault and destruction of the *judería* of Barcelona, which occurred in fact on 7-8 August.²¹ He already characterized the pogroms as a kind of final solution: ‘Puosi dire l’anno della distruzione de’ giudei.’

Rather than for the sake of discussing the pogroms themselves, however, this letter is introduced here primarily to direct attention to Venice, where some Spanish Jews appeared and where the Jewish community seems to have taken action upon arrival of the news from Spain.

Records of criminal trials mention some Jews of Spanish origin who seem to have fled to Italy after the pogroms. As early as May 1392 a certain Abraam di Benedetto di Salamone, ‘Judeus de Ispania, vagabundus’, was arrested for stealing rings from the table of a jeweller at the market in piazza San Marco. During the trial he was baptized (with the name Agostino) and after sentencing was hung. Five years later, the tailor Giacomo, a *converso* said to be of Recanati but born in Spain, was arrested for theft and fraud, together with three accomplices, a cleric from Genoa and two Jews, Ventura and Cohen. While the latter were not tried, for reasons unknown, Giacomo died ‘ex spasmo’ as a result of the repeated and particularly brutal tortures to which he had been subjected. Finally, Salamone di Samuele ‘de Ispania’, then of

21. The same merchant wrote to the Datini branch in Valencia on 20 July: ‘Abbiamo visto come costà avete acconci i giudei; qui stanno in grande paura, ed è dieci dì che non escono fuori; credesi alla fine piglierano purga.’ E. Bensa, *Francesco di Marco da Prato* (Milan, 1928), pp. 275-76. These letters seem to reflect continued tension in Barcelona in the last two weeks of July, rather than the ‘continued calm’ attested by Wolff (‘The 1391 Pogrom’, 10). I was unable to find other letters in the Datini network, between Italian cities and Spanish cities, relating to the pogroms; in Archivio Datini, Prato, b. 633, after the letter of Giovanni Jacopi of 19 July, there is a lacuna until 13 Sept; the letter of that date mentions one of 25 Aug., which is not extant. In b. 931, fasc. entitled ‘Lettere dirette ad altre compagnie’, there is one of Oct. 1391 written by Uberto di Carlo in Valencia to Luca del Sera in Barcelona that reports the expulsion of Genoese merchants from Valencia and the whole kingdom of Catalonia, as does Antonio di Guccio in his first extant letter to Florence on 30 Oct. (b. 633).

Mestre, was tried in 1402 for having engaged an assassin to eliminate a man who had wronged him.²²

The Florence office of the Datini company, recipient of the letter of Giovanni Jacopi, surely forwarded the news of the pogroms to Venice, where Zanobi di Taddeo Gaddi, chief correspondent of Francesco di Marco Datini, was much involved with Venetian *lanaiuoli* who invested heavily in Spanish wool; since correspondence sent from the company to Venice, however, is almost totally lacking, the relay itself cannot be documented. The Jews of Venice, on the other hand, must have had their own sources of information. Arrival of the news seems to have prompted the trip of a Venetian Jew to Catalonia, which is interesting even though the evidence so far uncovered is limited to skeletal accounting entries and a letter of credit.

'Salamone Sansone di Vinegia' probably travelled to Barcelona soon after the pogrom, perhaps as representative of the Venetian community or even of several Jewish communities. We learn of him and his voyage, however, only when he was already on his way back to the port of Pisa, in 1392; it is then that we learn that his mission, or one of his missions, was to salvage Hebrew books that risked destruction in the wake of the persecutions and forced baptisms and accompany them back to Italy. He or his principals commissioned the Florentine company of Antonio di Guccio and Matteo di Miniato in Barcelona to transport two packs of books — 'due balle di libri giuedaschi' — from Barcelona to Pisa. Transported by a cog, they were unloaded in the port of Livorno and carted to Pisa by the local branch of the Datini company.²³

22. ASV, Signori di notte al criminal, reg. 12, fols. 27v (13 May 1392) and 48v-50 (4 April 1402), listed as Nos. 1188 and 1206 in the repertory of thefts compiled by Stefano Piasentini ('*Alla luce della luna*'. *I furti a Venezia, 1270-1403* [Venice, 1992], Appendix and p. 36), who kindly drew my attention to them. Also Avogaria di comun, reg. 3645, fol. 36v (10 May 1402), cited by Jacoby, 'Les Juifs à Venise', 184, and Sopraconsoli, b. 1, fol. 66v.

23. The documents discussed here and in the next paragraph were published by Bensa, *Francesco di Marco da Prato*, Docs. XXIX and CXL (respectively from Archivio Datini, Prato, 1147, Barcelona-Pisa [21 Oct. 1392], and 380, fol. 33v). In December 1391 converted Jews in Barcelona tried to recover goods stolen from them; see Wolff, 'The 1391 Pogrom', 17, n. 40. Among the goods there were surely also books, which the converts, given their new status, would not have been permitted to retain. While the names Salamone and Sansone are both recurrent in Venetian notarial documents of the same years, I have not found corroborating documentation for a person with the same combination of names indicated by the Datini papers.

Before embarking in Barcelona, Salamone bought a letter of credit on the same company for 10 gold florins. The order to pay to the bearer, Salamone Sansone, was formulated initially so as to mature six days after presentation ('vista'), but was amended so as to be payable on demand; it was addressed on the reverse in Italian to the Datini branch, 'Franciescho di Marcho e Manno d'Albizo in Pisa', and in Hebrew simply 'A Francesco di Marco da Prato'. A postscript on the same letter of credit instructed the Datini branch to allow Salamone to repack the two bales into smaller packages, but only in their own quarters ('in casa vostra'), and ordered them to await further orders from Miniato di Nuccio di Firenze, the actual addressee. Should Salamone desire to take one of the books for himself, wrote the Barcelona company, the Pisan correspondents were to allow him to do so. This means that the books did not belong to Salamone personally but that he accompanied them and was responsible for dividing them up. In fact, the accounts registered on 4 December show that he had made four packages (materials cost 53 Pisan *soldi*) and that an export license ('poliza di tratta') had been obtained. There is no reference to the final destination of the four packages, but one can imagine that at least some of the books were meant for Venice, Salamone's declared city of origin.²⁴

Exactly a year later a Spanish Jew, Arnaldo of Villareal, near Valencia, shipped two further bales of Hebrew books ('due balle di libri giudaichi') with the same company in Barcelona to the same Pisan branch of the Datini firm. He seems to have accompanied them, as had Salamone, but there is no further indication of their destination; the only hint is the fact that Arnaldo was payer in Bologna of a bill of exchange drawn on him there by the Datini branch in Pisa.²⁵

24. Bensa (Francesco di Marco da Prato, p. 250) took it for granted that all were forwarded to Venice, although the matter is not proved by the documents he published. My thanks to Amos Luzatto and Renata Segre for deciphering the words in Hebrew.

25. See Archivio Datini, Prato, 380, 'Quaderno di ricevute di bale del 1392 al 1394 di Pixa', fol. 76 (23 Oct. 1393), where the shipowner (Sancio Desa) and the carters who forwarded the bales from Livorno are named, and fol. 87 (29 Dec. 1393), where the expenses are listed (including the cost of two crates into which the books were repacked). The two bales of books 'd'Arnaldo da Vilare, giudeo, avemo da Barzalona d'Antonio di Ghuccio e compagni', were part of a shipment of twelve bales, primarily of wool. The totals were carried forward to the *memoriale*, No. 371, fols. 72 and 215v, where payment of one florin by a Bondi di Giuseppe *giudeo* in Arnaldo's name and the bill of exchange are registered; see also the ledger, No. 361, fol. 357. (The first reference, to the same quaderno from which he extracted the accounts for Salamone's shipment, was noted by Bensa, *Francesco di Marco da Prato*, p. 423, n. 1.)

III

In 1394, as is well known, the Venetian Senate decreed the expulsion of the Jewish lenders, effective in early 1397. The reason given for the decision was that the Jews had not lived up to their promise to lend small sums on petty surety to poor persons or to lend on personal guarantee; there was a risk that all personal property ('totum mobile Venetiarum') would end up in their hands. Actually, their credit services must have been considered superfluous then, as the Venetian economy recovered from the war of Chioggia. The age-old law against lending at usury in Venice, publicly or secretly, was reinstated; furthermore, no Jew could remain in Venice for over 15 days per visit and each had to wear a visible yellow badge.²⁶ While the decree, the *Iudeorum expulsio*, was aimed primarily at moneylenders, it was interpreted a year later as including all Jews, even those medical doctors who had been approved by the magistracy of the Giustizia Vecchia.²⁷ The worsened atmosphere also caused Jewish merchants to abandon the Venetian marketplace. In 1408 the Senate welcomed the latter back, saying that of old ('antiquitus'), Jews of Apulia, Abruzzi, the Marches, Romagna, and elsewhere used to import silk cocoons, silken cloth, victuals, and other merchandise; the fact that since the expulsion they had taken their wares to Ancona hurt the Venetian silk industry and in general meant a loss to the economy and to the commune estimated at 60,000 ducats per year. Such merchants were reassured that they could come 'more mercatorio' like all other foreign merchants and that only if they engaged in usury would they come under the restrictions and fines passed in 1394 and later.²⁸ Jewish merchants, then, from cities along the Adriatic coast but especially those from Crete, who were subjects of Venice, are the Jews we can sometimes find living as more or less temporary residents in the parish of San Cassian but about whom there is so little information, except for their occasional encounters with the criminal courts.

26. ASV, Senato Misti, reg. 43, fol. 24.

27. ASV, Maggior Consiglio, Leona, fol. 78v (3 April 1395). The Minor Consiglio had split on the strict or loose interpretation of the senatorial deliberation and thus had to bring the matter before the Great Council, where the strict interpretation passed 325 to 119, with 22 abstentions; the minority had intended to safeguard the position of the doctor *magister* Salamon and others like him.

28. ASV, Senato Misti, reg. 48, fols. 39v-40, and Luca Molà, *La comunità dei lucchesi a Venezia. Immigrazione e industria della seta nel tardo Medioevo* (Venice, 1994), pp. 211-12.

The documents analysed here were an excuse to revisit a period and a subject studied some time ago. While they do not change the essence of what was previously known, they contribute elements of intercultural exchange and underscore the mobility of Jewish communities and the potential competition among them, especially in the sector of consumer credit where their services were sometimes in demand, sometimes considered superfluous, but always judged undesirable. In the first instance, Venetian authorities were surely aware of the competition from Siena for the services of the lenders with whom they were having difficulties, some of whom had already left for other cities in the Veneto. Such competitive negotiations with communities of Jewish lenders active in other cities were common and other contemporary examples relating to Tuscany are well known.²⁹ In the second instance it was possible only to follow the faint tracks of a member of the Venetian Jewish community who took serious risks in travelling to Spain in the wake of the persecutions of the summer of 1391, a decision made on the basis of news current within the mercantile community. Whatever his principal mission may have been, he was able to rescue a number of sacred, rabbinical and perhaps mystical books, some of which probably made their way back to Venice.

29. In November 1396, a few months before the expulsion from Venice became effective, the Priors of Florence were authorized to negotiate with Jews and invite them to lend in Florence, at a maximum interest rate of 15 per cent; the project came to naught; see U. Cassuto, *Gli Ebrei a Firenze nell'età del Rinascimento* (Florence, 1918, repr. 1965), pp. 13-14, and Appendix, Doc. I. In 1399 Arezzo succeeded in attracting several Jewish lenders away from Siena; see A. Molho, 'A Note on Jewish Moneylenders in Tuscany in the Late Trecento and Early Quattrocento', in A. Molho and J.A. Tedeschi (eds.), *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Hans Baron* (Florence, 1971), pp. 99-117, and compare the names (p. 117) with those indexed by Boesch Gajano, 'Il Comune di Siena e il prestito ebraico', Appendix 2.

APPENDIX

DOCUMENT I

Biagio di Ruberto da Siena writes to the government of Siena to report on his contacts with the Jewish pawnbrokers of Venice. 20 August 1389.

Archivio di Stato di Siena, Concistoro, 1826, No. 14, fol. 1r.

Al nome di Dio, amen.

Magnifici e potenti singnori miei. Debita e senpre e umile recommendatio premessa. E' più di ricevetti una vostra lettera fata di 21 del mese pasato. Vegho per Ventura d'Andrea e per Cione di ser Paulo s'ette statti avisatti chome qui aveo auto cierti ragionamenti chon codesti g[i]udei di venire abitare chostà e prestare a XV per cento a ragione d'uno an[n]o e chossì fu la verità, che quando giunsi qui che fu di 16 di giungno pasato, tuti erano in dischonchordia con questa signoria. Per tale molti se ne partiro'; andorono a Trevigi, a Padova e a Verona e a Vicenza; e po' questi richi s'achordaro' chon questa chomunità a prestare sopra argento e spezie a 8 per cento e sopra a carte a X per cento, e debeno fare uno presto a minuto per la povera gente di ducati 50,000 a X per cento.

Di che avendo auta la vostra lettera fui da que' g[i]udei chon chui aveo auto il ragionamento, dicendolo da voi aveo auto il mandato e mostralo la vostra lettera; risposemi sarebeno insieme e tra loro deliberebeno uno venisse chostà a provvedere; e chossì arebeno fato. E venute poi le novele della compagnia venuta chostà, e che sentono noi dobbiamo avere ghuera e però soprasteno. No'dimeno m'ano promiso, quando sarà tenpo, saranno da me e meterano il fato a seguizone e voi in questo mezo operate che chotesti sono chostà no' prestano sino a XV per cento, save[n]do voi che a lasa'li prestare a più è grand[i]simo dano de la vostra chomunità. Nondimeno, io ina'zi parti darò buono ordine per a[d]enpire il vostro chomandamento, e sarete di tuto avisati.

[The rest of the letter concerns diplomatic questions, the envoys then present in Venice, and so forth.]

DOCUMENT II

Giovanni Jacopi writes to the head office in Florence of the company of Francesco di Marco Datini and Stoldo di Lorenzo, and, in the midst of the commercial news, reports on the 'pogroms' in Castile, Valencia, and Barcelona. 19 July 1391.

Archivio Datini, Prato, 633, Barcelona to Florence, fol. 1v, bottom, to 2r, top.

[...]

Crediamo avete sentito il buono acholglimento ànno fatto in Castella a' giudei, che gl'ènno tutti morti e rubati e sonsene fatti cristiani assai, e a Valenza a dì 9 di questo chominciorono andare per la tera 10 o 12 fantuleli chon una + [croce] di channa, e vanosene ove stavano e giudei e fanno chon loro a sassi, e poi vi si mescholò altro che fantuleli e sonvene morti da 100 e fattosene cristiani 300 o più. Tutti gl'altri sono stati rubati insino alle brache, e non vi si potè dare rimedio veruno. // [2r]

E avendo fatto questo a' giudei, volono ire a fare il simile a' mori, di che il ducha che vi si trovò ne fecie impicchare alchuno e la cosa è così rimas[t]a. El simile ànno fatto per tutto il Rengo di Valenza de' giudei, che tutti sono stati rubati e morti e tornatosene cristiani grande parte.

Questi di qui ànno auto grandissima paura e sono stati bene 8 dì serati e cittadini e uficiali del re ànno fatto e fanno per loro bonissima guardia el dì e lla notte; potranole fugire alchuno dì, ma alla fine non la possono iscapare, perochè il popolo è forte indengnato contro di loro e in questo ballo sono 'per tutto questo paese. Puosi dire l'anno della distruzione de' giudei.

[The letter continues with commercial information.]

The Jews of Chios (1049): A Group of *Excusati*

Nicolas Oikonomides

The case of the Jewish families given by Constantine IX Monomachos to the monastery of Nea Moni of Chios on 1049 has been studied by several scholars,¹ and among these Professor David Jacoby holds a distinguished position.² The purpose of the present paper is to place the case of the Jews of Chios in the broader context of eleventh-century Byzantine tax exemption.

We should first recall the information provided by the documents: In July 1049 Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos issued a chrysobull in favour of Nea Moni of Chios, granting it a certain degree of independence from the local bishop and, as financial support, 'the Jews who lived on this island', who were completely free and subservient to none. In other words, they must have been recent arrivals, probably from far away, since they did not yet appear in any tax register — and in this they were similar to the *paroikoi*, 'free and unknown to the fiscus'. The Jews throughout Chios would pay their head-tax (*kephalētiōn*) to the monastery, and the emperor limited the number of Jews to 15 families 'in order that the monastery be officially their lord'. These families would be exempt from all extraordinary contributions or corvées, even if these were imposed on the island by the emperor — special mention was made of the billeting of mercenaries.³

We know that in 1056, the founders of Nea Moni were condemned by the imperial tribunal and sent to exile, while the monastery's

1. A detailed analysis of the expressed points of view is to be found in Ph. Argenti, *The Religious Minorities of Chios: Jews and Roman Catholics* (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 63-92.
2. Recently in D. Jacoby, 'Les Juifs de Byzance: une communauté marginalisée', in the proceedings of the conference, *Oi Perithōriakoi sto Byzantio* (Athens, 1993), pp. 128-9.
3. I. and P. Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanum* (Athens, 1931), Vol. I, pp. 633-4.

properties were confiscated.⁴ However, not for long. The emperor Isaac Komnēnos (1057-59), under the influence of Patriarch Michael Kēroularios, rehabilitated the monks and returned all their properties.

The privilege concerning the Jews has been confirmed by Isaac's successor, Constantine X Doukas, in 1062. This chrysobull is known in an incomplete form,⁵ but its contents have been reconstructed thanks to a (now lost) manuscript of the Greek Gymnasium at Adrianople.⁶ The emperor mentions the donation of his predecessor, declares that the 15 families include all the Jews living on Chios, and orders them to stay forever in buildings belonging to the monastery — if they do not do so, they are threatened by a fine of three times the head-tax and three times the rent. He declares that their descendants will also belong to the monastery and forbids the installation of any other Jews on the island.

The above privileges are mentioned in the chrysobull of Emperor Nikēphoros III Botaneiatēs (1079), who remarks that they had long been forgotten. The emperor declares that he confirms all donations of his predecessors but without giving any specific details.⁷ Consequently, one can assume that the relationship between the monastery and the Jewish families was not revived in 1079 — it was probably rendered inoperative before that date.

Were these 15 families the total number of Jews living on Chios in 1049, or only part of them? The way in which the figure appears in the document of 1049 leaves room for doubt: on one hand, the emperor speaks of 'all the Jews, all over Chios'; on the other, he fixes their number in a phrase vaguely stating that he intended to make the monastery an 'official' lord over the Jews. In my view, in order to understand the arrangement better, it should be stressed that in Byzantium all donations, imperial or other, that were not accompanied by a figure indicating the importance of the donation (*aposos dōrea*), could be contested and, at a certain moment, they usually were declared null and void.⁸ As we shall see below, the definition by a figure was

4. On the history of Nea Moni the best work is by Ch. Bouras, *E Nea Monē tēs Chiou: Istoria kai Architektonikē* (Athens, 1981).

5. Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanum*, Vol. I, p. 640.

6. See B. Stephanides, 'Oι Kodikes tēs Adrianoupoleōs', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 14 (1905), 594. The relevant passages are assembled in Argenti, *Religious Minorities*, pp. 66-7.

7. Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanum*, Vol. I, pp. 643-4.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 380.

also common practice in all cases of similar donations concerning non-Jewish households. Consequently, the figure 15, necessary to legalize the monastery's claims, should be understood as a ceiling beyond which the monks could not claim any further head-taxes from the Jewish families or exempt such families from the secondary fiscal burdens and collect a cash payment instead.

In other words, I think that in 1049 there were either 15 or fewer Jewish families on the whole island of Chios and that the monastery was given the authorization to collect the head tax from all of them. The total of 15 families was certainly reached, one way or the other, by 1062, and Constantine X was obliged to face the problem created by their progeny; he recognized that the monastery had the right to keep them on its premises and collect the head tax of the descendants of these families — in other words, the maximum number of 15 was abolished provided that the new families were direct descendants of the old ones.⁹ At the same time, in order to protect the interests of the fiscus, the emperor forbade the monastery to attract any further Jewish settlers to the island, who could very easily be confused with the local families and thus escape their fiscal obligations. A similar arrangement would have been in order in the case of Christians, with the only difference that these were not an easily definable group. In any case, it seems that the restrictions imposed by Constantine X were not respected for long. Nikēphoros Botaneiatēs says that already in 1079 the privilege of the monastery concerning the Jews was inoperative and forgotten. And, according to Benjamin of Tudela, by the mid-twelfth century there were 400 Chiot Jews.¹⁰

The chrysobull of 1062 presents one peculiarity for which I know no parallel: the obligation for the Jews to rent the monastery's properties or face a very stiff fine. The fine is described as a multiple of what the Jews were already paying to the monastery, and it appears to be a punishment for breaking an agreement. I shall return to this aspect below.

With regard to the type of donation, we must turn to the donations

9. This is not a unique case: in 1079 Nikēphoros III Botaneiatēs granted the monastery of Melana the right to exempt 100 *paroikoi* from all secondary taxes, provided that they were direct descendants of the *paroikoi* and *douloparoikoi* who already belonged to the monastery: see *Actes de Lavra*, Vol. I, ed. P. Lemerle *et al.* (Paris, 1970), No. 38, ll. 24-6.

10. *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. M.N. Adler (London, 1907), p. 17.

of *oikoi exkoussatoi*, known from other monastic documents. We can quote the following tenth- to twelfth-century examples:

944-959: Constantine VII Porphyrogenētos gave the monastery of Leontia 36 *oikoi exkoussatoi* in the theme of Thessalonica. These *oikoi* had disappeared by 975 due to foreign invasions.¹¹

979/80 and earlier: Basil II gave John the *synkellos* (one of the founders of Iviron) 60 *oikoi dēmosiarioi*, namely those paying their taxes to the state, and ordered that they be subject to tax exemption (*exkousseuesthai*).¹²

Before 984: Basil II gave the monastery of Lavra 25 *oikoi exkoussatoi* in Chrysopolis, who paid their taxes (or a contribution — *telountes*) to Lavra.¹³

November 999: The *katepanō* of Italy, Gregory Tarchaneiōtēs, donated the monastery of St Peter in Taranto together with its *ekskoussatoi*, to the *spatharokandidatos* Christophoros Bochomakēs, a hero of the war against the Arabs.¹⁴

In 1054: During a trial, Argyros, the *doux* of Byzantine Italy, ruled that a tax-payer can be considered the *exkoussatos* of someone else if he paid him the *exkoussatikion*,¹⁵ that is the payment owed by the *exkoussatos*.

In 1143-80: Manuel II Komnēnos gave the metropolis of Kerkyra 24 *oikoi exkoussatoi* in the city, and a further 50 outside its limits.¹⁶

It should be remembered here that the *excusati* also appear in Latin sources from around 800 concerning Istria and Italy, as an institution surviving from the times of the Byzantines: they were tax payers, liberated of their obligations towards the state, and attached, in small

11. *Actes d'Iviron*, Vol. I, ed. J. Lefort et al. (Paris, 1985), No. 2, ll. 21-5. This text and the following ones have been commented upon, among others, by A. Kazhdan, 'Ekskussiia i ekskussaty v Vizantii X-XII vv.', *Vizantiiskie Ocherki* (Moscow, 1961), pp. 187-91; P. Lemerle, *The Agrarian History of Byzantium* (Galway, 1979), pp. 168ff.

12. *Actes d'Iviron*, Vol. II (Paris, 1990), No. 32, l. 16.

13. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, No. 6, ll. 23, 32-3.

14. F. Trinchera, *Syllabus graecarum membranarum* (Naples, 1865), No. 10.

15. G.B. Veltrami, *Documenti longobardi e greci per la storia dell'Italia meridionale nel Medio evo* (Rome, 1877), No. 9; A. Prologo, *Le carte che si conservano nell'Archivio del Capitolo metropolitano della città di Trani* (Bari, 1877), p. 15. Cf. J.-M. Martin, *La Pouille du VI^e au XII^e siècle* (Paris, 1993), p. 301.

16. Fr. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi*, Vol. V (Vienna, 1887), p. 15. Cf. the commentary of E. Papagiannē, *Ta oikonomika tou eggamou klērou sto Byzantio* (Athens, 1986), pp. 200-201.

groups, to officers or monasteries to whom they made payments and/or offered services.¹⁷ But these cases are, of course, too remote from eleventh-century Chios.

The *oikoi exkoussatoi* of the tenth- to twelfth-century documents appear to be independent fiscal units, family-sized or bigger, situated in cities or in the countryside — but not on the monastic lands. Consequently they are not the *paroikoi* of the monastery. They appear to be free landowners — nothing in the texts suggests that they might have been dependent peasants and they are usually distinguished quite clearly from the *paroikoi* who are sometimes mentioned in the same charters. They initially paid their taxes to the fiscus (*dēmosiarioi*). When becoming *exkoussatoi*, they were liberated from their obligations to the state and they paid part of their taxes (*telountes*) or a special lump contribution, the *exkoussatikion*, to the person or institution they depended on (literally: on whom they rely, *anakeisthai*). If the monastery they were attached to was donated to another one, they followed in its wake.

The number of *excusati* is always stated with precision, but not the extent of their possessions, no doubt because these were not a factor taken into consideration when defining their payments.¹⁸ This would mean that to their 'lord' they paid their personal taxes, which amounted to a fixed sum every year: in the eleventh century, these were mainly constituted from the *synōnē* (paid by those who had a pair of oxen) and the *kapnikon* (hearth tax), and could go up to one gold coin per household.¹⁹ On the contrary, their land tax or other basic tax due because of their profession went to the state.

Their 'lord' also benefited from the fact that they were freed from all secondary state taxes and corvées, and he received the payment in cash. This could amount to quite a substantial sum of money. In the Venetian *praktikon* of Lampsakos of 1219, which certainly reflects prior Byzantine practice, the *adaeratio* of all corvées and extraordinary

17. The main document is the *placitum* of Risano (on which see L. Margetić, 'Quelques aspects du plaid de Rižana', *Revue des études byzantines*, 46 (1988), 125-34), which has been analysed and compared with other texts concerning the *excusati* by P.S. Leicht in 'Gli *excusati* nelle provincie italiane soggette all'impero d'Oriente', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 24 (1956), 22-8.

18. The land tax was paid by the owner of any property and was proportionate to its fiscal value ($\frac{1}{24}$ of the value).

19. This is the tariff applied in Miletus in 1073. See *Eggapha Patmou*, Vol. II, ed. M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou (Athens, 1980), No. 50, ll. 312-14.

taxes could reach four gold coins annually.²⁰ Of course, this example comes from a time and context different from the one under discussion here, but it is nevertheless useful as it gives an indication of the possible size of this contribution.

This, in my view, is the *exkoussatikion*, which I interpret as the payment due by an *exkoussatos* (the word is only indirectly related to *exkousseia*, the tax exemption): a cash payment which entailed freedom from the need to pay any secondary taxes and *corvées*.

When this revenue was granted to a person in the service of the state, usually someone in the military, this formed part of his pay. Such arrangements bring to mind the measure taken by Nikēphoros I (802-811) in order to enable poor soldiers to acquire the necessary equipment. He appointed a number of co-contributors and all participated in order to equip the soldiers.²¹ They also bring to mind the fiscal revenue given to the holders of *pronoiai* — but this occurred at a much later date and in a different context.

When the *exkoussatoi* were given to a monastery, this was a simple donation of cash that the beneficiary could collect directly from taxpayers, without the intervention of the state. As it had nothing to do with the land tax it was easily distinguishable from the *logisimon solemnion*, known from the Fiscal Treaty of the Marciana and consisting of the right of a private person or an institution to collect a part of their land tax directly from the peasants.²²

Let us now return to Chios of 1049. The arrangement described in the preceding lines is practically identical with that concerning the Jews, but with one difference: they are called 'families', not households (*oikoi*) as the other *exkoussatoi*. This is probably due to the fact that they did not possess any real estate, but rented properties of Nea Moni. We know that the notion of *oikos* implies the existence of private property; it was often used to indicate big private properties, but also the households of free peasantry.²³

20. G.L.F. Tafel and G.M. Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, Vol. II (Vienna, 1856), p. 209. Cf. M. Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 222-3, and the important commentary on this document by D. Jacoby, 'The Venetian Presence in the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204-1261): The Challenge of Feudalism and the Byzantine Inheritance', *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 43 (1993), 164-82.

21. Theophanis, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, Vol. I (Leipzig, 1883), p. 486.

22. F. Dölger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung besonders des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts* (repr. Darmstadt, 1960), pp. 117-18.

23. On the problem of the *oikos*, especially the aristocratic one, see M. Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre à Byzance du VI^e au XI^e siècle* (Paris, 1992), pp. 331ff.

In addition, the Jewish families had to pay the monastery their personal taxes, in the documents persistently called *kephalētīon*, the Greek word for *capitatio*, head tax, which could have been a special tax for the Jews,²⁴ different from the hearth tax (*kapnikon*) that the Christian households had to pay. We know nothing about this tax, and probably the term had derogatory implications in the twelfth century. In any case, this was a tax defined by the state, and consequently was a fixed and constant amount, presumably the same for all the Jews of the empire.

The Jews also had to pay rent for their housing on the monastic property. It is obvious that if they were recent arrivals on the island they did not possess real estate and they had to rent their lodgings — and it is not surprising that they chose to rent properties belonging to Nea Moni. One can assume that the *capitation* and the rent were the only two payments that they made to the monastery, as these are the only ones to be tripled in the chrysobull of 1062 as a penalty for those who would abandon the monastic housing. One has to assume, therefore, that the rent included the amount of money that the monastery had to collect from the Jewish families for the tax exemption that it had obtained for them — a tax exemption that certainly would bring profit to the monastery, and not to its *exkoussatoi*, irrespective of their religion.²⁵ Consequently, one can assume that these rents were considerably inflated.

It could be expected that when the monastery suffered the difficulties of 1056, some of these families may have tried to settle elsewhere, on private property or for cheaper rent. But this situation did not last for long. The chrysobull of 1062 obliged them all to continue renting the monastery's housing in perpetuity. This move was not aimed at limiting the freedom of the Jews, specifically or in general; it was merely a way to force them to continue paying Nea Moni the compensation for the tax exemption that they enjoyed. Here again, all

24. John Zonaras, *Chronographia*, Vol. III, Bonn, p. 263, suggests that in his time *kephalētīon* indicated a tax fitting for the Jews. See F. Dölger, 'Die Frage der Judensteuer in Byzanz', *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 26 (1933), 1-24 = F. Dölger, *Paraspora* (Ettal, 1961), pp. 358-77.

25. A similar arrangement seems to have been made between the monastery of Vatopedi and its 24 Christian tenants of Chrysopolis, who received a tax exemption in 1080 and 1082. See M. Goudas, 'Byzantiaka egrapha tēs en Athō ieras monēs tou Vatopediou', *Epetēris Etaireias Byzantinōn Spoudōn*, 3 (1926), 121, l. 18; 122, l. 30; 125, l. 16; 127, ll. 39-41.

is motivated by fiscal considerations and by the desire to protect the revenues of the monks, in a spirit of 'equity'.

No special treatment was meted out to the Jews of Chios in 1049 and 1062: 'Le problème traité est uniquement d'ordre fiscal, de caractère local et sans aucune portée générale'.²⁶

26. Jacoby, 'Les Juifs de Byzance', 128.

Marriage Connections between Byzantium and the West in the Age of the Palaiologoi

Sandra Origone

The relations between Byzantium and the West were characterized by a network of marriage alliances, which in the Komnenian age became a valuable instrument of Byzantine diplomacy in search of broad and influential family connections.¹ During the last centuries, the fact that the empire's survival was closely linked to the Mediterranean interests of the Westerners affected the dynasty's matrimonial choices, leading the emperors to take an increasing number of Latin wives, who as time went on originated mainly from Italy. The facts are well known; nevertheless, the aim of this contribution is to point out the role played by the Italian cities, and especially by Genoa.

The restoration of 1261, following the reconquest of the Byzantine capital, had repercussions on the whole Mediterranean area, and, as is known, subsequent years were characterized by the search of a new equilibrium among the Mediterranean powers. The Genoese intervention in support of Michael VIII Palaiologos was a new phenomenon: for the first time a Western power sought contacts with the Byzantine world, beyond the influence of the Pope. Moreover, the situation of rivalry which had arisen in the West gave the Byzantines the illusion that they might gain some diplomatic advantage. Encouraged by his early indubitable successes, Michael VIII found a model for his policies in the reign of Manuel I Komnēnos, the sovereign who had considerably increased his dynasty's connections to the Latin world by marriage, mainly by sending Komnenian brides to

This article was translated by Judith Roumani.

1. A. Kazhdan, 'The Notion of Byzantine Diplomacy', in J. Shephard and S. Franklin (eds.), *Byzantine Diplomacy: Papers from the Twenty-Fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, March 1990* (London, 1992), pp. 3-21; R. Macrides, 'Dynastic Marriages and Political Kinship', in *ibid.*, pp. 263-80.

Western lords and rulers of crusader states. Following the example of Manuel Komnēnos, Michael Palaiologos, though it was in vain, desired a Western marriage for himself, and chose a Latin wife for his heir.

When he acceded to the throne, Michael VIII had two marriageable women available at his court, Constance-Anna and Eudokia, the former the step-mother and the latter the daughter of his predecessor Theodore II Laskaris. The emperor made use of both of them in support of his policy towards the West. He initially tried to marry Empress Constance-Anna, the daughter of Frederick II and his predecessor John III Vatatzēs' neglected wife, whom her step-son had been holding practically prisoner after the death of her husband. Michael VIII, disappointed in his amorous hopes, and whose wife in any case would never have agreed to a divorce, in 1262 restored Anna to her brother Manfred in exchange for Michael's valiant general Alexios Strategopoulos, who was then a prisoner of the Latins. The dowry and rights of the empress in Asia Minor later became the subject of a claim on the part of James II of Aragon. He used her will every time he needed to protect the trading interests the Catalan community had in the Byzantine Empire.²

The events surrounding Constance-Anna may be compared with the case of her niece, Eudokia (or Irene) Laskaris. Her wedding was celebrated in great haste: Michael VIII wanted to free himself of the unwelcome presence of his predecessor's children. He gave her in marriage to Count Guglielmo Pietro, who was then in the East, and had recently been freed from the prison after having fought in Pelagonia at the side of Manfred and Villehardouin against the Byzantines in 1259. A scion of the house of Ventimiglia, Pietro was connected to Genoa, and because of his close relationship with the Genoese he achieved his own release, obtained the granting of a Byzantine wife, and was given

2. G. Schlumberger, 'Le Tombeau d'une impératrice byzantine à Valence en Espagne', in *Byzance et croisades* (Paris, 1927), pp. 57-86; C. Marinescu, 'Du Nouveau sur Constance de Hoenstaufen, impératrice de Nicée', *Byzantion*, 1 (1924), 451-69, and the bibliography; Constance-Anna's will dates from 1306, while the claim of Andronikus II is from 1316: A.E. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins: The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II, 1282-1328*, pp. 277-81. The daughters of Michael VIII were married, respectively, Maria to the Tartar Abagha (c. 1265), Eufrosina to the Tartar Nogai (1266), Irene with the Bulgarian Ivan III Asan (1279), Eudokia with the emperor of Trebizond (1281): see A.T. Papadopoulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen, 1259-1453* (1938), pp. 27, 32, 33; see also D.J. Geanakoplos, *The Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West, 1258-1282* (Cambridge, MA, 1959).

the generous sum of 20,000 *hyperpyra*, to be used upon his return to Genoa. Like Constance-Anna, Eudokia had spent several years at the Court of Aragon. The network of marriage connections which Michael Palaiologos arranged was linked to the figure of Manfred, the brother of Constance-Anna and the father of another Constance, who became the wife of Peter of Aragon. An ally of Genoa at the time of Captain Guglielmo Boccanegra, Manfred resisted the Angevin advance in the Mediterranean and bequeathed to his Aragonese heirs the task of continuing the struggle.³

The two opposite camps, the Genoese and the Venetian respectively, thenceforth made up the vice-like grip by which the Italian city-states were squeezing the Palaiologean dynasty. The disastrous condition of the empire obliged Michael VIII's successors to abandon any initiatives on the international scene, in favour of a purely defensive strategy. Sending their women to the Latins once had meant affirming the Byzantine presence everywhere; welcoming now foreign women meant maintaining a network of Western alliances without too much risk being involved. But, as Nicephorus Gregoras pointed out, the fact that Latin noblemen no longer aspired to family connections with Greeks, not merely ordinary people, but even the members of the imperial family, was an undeniable sign of decline.⁴ Even to this new situation the Byzantines were able to adapt themselves, using their political realism. None of the three Italian empresses of the Palaiologean dynasty came from royal stock, and their presence in Constantinople was linked to a framework of alliances supported by the Mediterranean policy of the Genoese.

Canonical restrictions on mixed marriages, drawn up in the fourteenth century by the canonist Mathew Blastares, had never been forgotten in Byzantium. The frequency of such marriages had, however, made it necessary to adopt less rigid attitudes. The *Book of Ceremonies* informs us that imperial marriages, which were often incompatible with the bride and groom's sharing the Eucharist together, had since the tenth century, in order to avoid embarrassment, been celebrated by separating the nuptial rite from that of the Holy

3. S. Origone, 'Oriente e Occidente: Bisanzio e i Lascaris di Ventimiglia', in *La Storia dei genovesi. Atti del Convengo di studi sui ceti dirigenti nelle istituzioni della repubblica di Genova (Genova, 10, 11, 12 Giugno, 1987)* (Genoa, 1988), pp. 427-39, and the bibliography.

4. Nicephorus Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, ed. L. Schopen (Bonn, Vol. I, 1829; Vol. II, 1830), Vol. I, pp. 237-8.

Communion.⁵ As pointed out by D.N. Nicol, normally the Greeks, by conferring on the emperor's wife a new name following the Orthodox tradition and by reserving the right to educate the children in the father's religion, tried to save their religious integrity, while the Latins, in order to give their daughters in marriage to Greeks, complied with the duty of asking for papal dispensation.⁶

It does not appear that any particular objections were raised to the frequent marriages which, during the course of the twelfth century, linked the Byzantine dynasty with Catholic dynasties in the French, Italian, German, Hungarian, and crusader states. Only after the Fourth Crusade, did they realize the rift in the Christian world and its serious consequences. The first enflamed polemics were expressed by the Latins at the time of the marriage, celebrated without the agreement of the Pope, between Constance-Anna and John Vatatzēs. There is a strong suspicion, though, that the Latin criticism of the heretical marriage of Frederick II's daughter was motivated more by a wish to discredit the Swabian emperor than by the polemic concerning the schism with the Greeks.⁷

The need for a papal dispensation did create real difficulties in some situations. Although Andronikos II in 1271 had married Anne of Hungary without any controversy, after the Union of Lyon had been refused in 1274, he could not carry out the matrimonial plans which he had with the Latin dynasties (Anjou, Lusignan) for his son Michael IX, who married an Armenian princess. According to testimonies of the time, when Andronikos himself was a widower, he obtained the hand of Yolande-Irene of Montferrat in 1284, because the king of Castile, who arranged the marriage and was at that time excommunicated, did not bother to request papal dispensation.⁸

At the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Angevin threat led the Byzantine emperors to seek new Western support. In 1317

5. J. Meyendorff, 'Christian Marriage in Byzantium: The Canonical and Liturgical Tradition', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (hereafter *DOP*), 44 (1990), 106; Constantin Porphyrogénète, *Le Livre des cérémonies*, ed. A. Vogt (Paris, 1939), p. 29; G.A. Rhalles and M. Plotes, *Syntagma tōn theiōn kai tōn ierōn kanonōn* (Athens, 1852-59), pp. 153-254.

6. D.M. Nicol, 'Mixed Marriages in Byzantium in the Thirteenth Century', in *Byzantium: Its Ecclesiastical History and Relationship with the Western World* (London, 1972), pp. 160-72; Macrides, 'Dynastic Marriages', p. 76.

7. Nicol, 'Mixed Marriages', pp. 161-4. Among other matters, see in particular the criticisms of Bartolomeo di Neocastro, *Historia Sicula, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (hereafter *RIS*), Vol. 13/1 (Bologna, 1921), p. 2.

8. Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, Vol. I, p. 168.

Andronikos III married Adelheid-Irene of Brunswick and, in a second marriage, in 1326 married Giovanna Anna of Savoy. At this time, due to the advance of the Turks, there was also a dialogue between the Pope and the Byzantine emperors. Nevertheless, the wedding of Anna of Savoy and Andronikos III, taking place in a Ghibelline and anti-Angevin context, took the pontiff by surprise. The Pope apparently rebuked Count Edward of Savoy for marrying his own sister to an infidel. But at that time there were some openings for either religious or political negotiations. Although the count of Savoy gravitated within the Ghibelline orbit, he had some relations with the French-Bohemian alliance. The four Franciscan friars among his sister's retinue were a sort of guarantee for the Pope, who sent words of exhortation to the empress such as: 'vir infidelis salvabitur per mulierem fidelem'.⁹ But though her presence had considerable influence on the court and her son's next choices concerning religion, even in her position as regent Anna of Savoy was not able to comply with the pontiff's expectations of the union.

The *basileus* Manuel, who in 1392 married the Serbian Helena Dragases, according to the arguments which he himself put into his mother's mouth in the dialogue *Peri Gamou*, had done so with the sole intention of giving himself heirs to reinforce his own position *vis-à-vis* his nephew and rival.¹⁰ Four of his six sons, however, had Western wives. John VIII married Sophia of Savoy, Thomas married Caterina Zaccaria, Constantine married Maddalena Teodora Tocco, and then Caterina Gattilusi; Theodore married Cleope Malatesta. Even one of his daughters, the illegitimate Isabella, had a Latin husband, the Genoese Ilarione Doria.

It seems that a tactical attitude prevailed where the question of mixed marriages was concerned, and the custom of requiring spouses to respect their partner's religious creed was consolidated. Similar cases have been found in late thirteenth-century Greece. The declaration of Orthodox faith, which Ilarione Doria signed in 1392 in order to marry Isabella, might be in consequence of such a compromise in favour of his Greek wife. In 1418 Emperor Manuel II obtained

9. D. Muratore, *Una principessa sabauda sul trono di Bisanzio: Giovanna di Savoia, imperatrice Anna Paleologina* (Chambéry, 1906), pp. 253-4, 303-4.

10. J.W. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425): A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1969), pp. 99-104; S. Runciman, 'The Marriages of the Sons of the Emperor Manuel II', *Rivista di studi bizantini e slavi*, 1 (1981), 273-82. See Manuele Paleologo, *Dialogum de Matrimonio*, ed. C. Bevegny, *Saggi e testi classici, orientali e medievali*, (Catania, 1989).

permission from Pope Martin V to marry his sons to Latin women, as long as their faith would be respected. In accordance with his father's promise, in 1419 Theodore Palaiologos committed himself to signing a document in which he respected the Latin creed of Cleope Malatesta who, by the way, reportedly on her own initiative, adopted the Orthodox faith. Also Maddalena Tocco, who married Constantine XI, subsequently went over to the Orthodox religion.¹¹

Moreover, concerning marriage policy there was another matter, which was pointed out by Demetrios Kydōnēs. In his speech *ad Romeos*, he writes:

Our most excellent Emperor [John V on the occasion of his son Andronikos IV's marriage with the Bulgarian Kyratza Maria] after many embassies and discussions in order to reach an agreement on a military alliance, committed his son, the successor to the empire, to marry the daughter of the prince of the Misi [Ivan Alexander]. Everybody is aware how unbecoming and debasing this union is for his glory and splendour. After receiving such great grace, did they render us the most minimal favour in return? . . . What more convenient allies could Romans ever have than other Romans? Their city was actually the mother of ours and, since the inhabitants of both cities derived their common name from it, it has remained as an outpost in the West, sending us to govern Asia so that we seem as a single population and the two cities one city, established as colony and metropolis, and so that there is no difference except the fact that one was founded by Romulus and the other by Constantine, the successor of the former's empire. In fact, as everyone knows, Constantine, from whom everything came down to us, was a Roman and honoured the city which he founded with the name of homeland . . . Now I ask whether we should send ambassadors to wicked men, offer them money and promise them wives and drive people accustomed to pillaging houses to carry out expeditions abroad. On the contrary, we reject the proposal of those who offer their help in war freely, accusing them of only one thing, which is that they do not need us.¹²

11. Nicol, 'Mixed Marriages', p. 167; Runciman, 'The Marriages of the Sons', 277-80. See G. Hoffman, *Epistolae pontificae ad concilium florentinum spectantes* (Rome, 1940-46), Doc. 2. For Ilarione Doria see Barker, *Manuel II*, pp. 158, 253, 474.

12. Demetrios Cydonēs, *Ad Romeos deliberativa*, *Patrologia Graeca* (hereafter *PG*), Vol. 154, cols. 977-80, 985-6.

The words of Demetrios Kydōnēs refer back to the debate going on within the Byzantine world about whether it would be appropriate to seek help from the Balkan peoples or rather from the Westerners. The choice lay between the Latins, who were separated because of the schism, but joined because of the common tradition, and the Slavs, who were Orthodox but useless for the empire and unworthy of receiving Byzantine wives. Nevertheless, there was no great preference for Western people owing to a shared ethnic and cultural heritage in Byzantium in the mid-fourteenth century. In any case, owing to political interests, Western marriages did predominate over Balkan ones. Between 1261 and about 1471 the imperial family's mixed marriages were predominantly with Western partners (16) rather than with Bulgarians (6), Trapezuntines (4), Serbs (4), Armenians (1), crusader Latins (1), Russians (2), Tartars (3), or Turkish partners (3). The Byzantines preferred to give illegitimate daughters, such as Maria, the daughter of Andronikos II and a wife of the Tartar Toktai (1292), or Palaiologina, the daughter of Theodore I and niece of John V, and wife of the Turk Süleyman (1405), to Tartars and Turks, the marriage partners who were most alien. John Kantakouzēnos, however, gave his own legitimate daughter to Orkhan, and although it was as late as 1460, also the daughter of Demetrios and niece of Manuel II, Helena, ended up in the conqueror's harem. The emperors received eight Western women (six Italians, one German, and one Hungarian), two Trapezuntines, one Bulgarian, one Armenian, one Russian, and one Serb.¹³ Various purposes were met by these choices: the need to forestall potential aggressors against the empire, joining together with Bulgarians, Serbs, Tartars, and Turks, but only during the most precarious times; the attempt to link the empire to the Eastern dynasties of Armenia, Cyprus, Russia, and Trebizond, which were interested in joint action against the Turks; the aim of maintaining contacts with the Western world and thereby keeping its aggressiveness in check. The fact is that the most consistent policy followed by the last dynasty was the alliance with the West. For this purpose their friendship with the Genoese served the Palaiologean dynasty well, so much so that matrimonial alliances were concluded with the Doria, Gattilusi, Spinola, and Zaccaria families. Three *basileis* took wives from the houses of Montferrat and Savoy, which were traditionally allied with

13. For information on the marriages, see Papadopoulos, *Genealogie der Palaiologen*, *passim*.

the Genoese Ghibelline orbit, and in all probability the marriage of Michael IX with Rita-Maria of Armenia was also due to Genoese influence.

The Genoese expansion overseas was marked by the predominance of the Ghibelline aristocracy, which ran trading activities in the Mediterranean markets of Laiazzo, Pera, Caffa, and Cyprus.¹⁴ This entrepreneurial group, which included the De Mari, Doria, Spinola, Zaccaria, and other families, shows itself even in Genoese intervention in support of Byzantine matrimonial policy. Let us consider four cases, those of Irene of Montferrat, Rita-Maria Xene, Anna of Savoy, and Sophia of Montferrat.

At the time of the wedding of Andronikos II and the Aleramic Irene, the best of relations reigned between Genoa and the Byzantine court. Alfonso X of Castile arranged the marriage which the Byzantines had sought, and chose his niece, the daughter of William VII of Montferrat, reinforcing the empire's ties with the Italian Ghibelline camp. The Genoese, whose interests in the Iberian Peninsula had increased with time, provided free transportation for the bride, had her accompanied by three galleys, and added to her train two of their own ambassadors to the *basileus*.¹⁵ At the time of this marriage the emperor committed

14. M. Balard, 'Les milieux dirigeants dans les comptoirs génois d'Orient (XII^e-XV^e s.)', in *La storia dei genovesi: Atti del Convegno di studi sui ceti dirigenti nelle istituzioni della repubblica di Genova (Genova 7-9 novembre 1980)*, Vol. I (Genoa, 1981), pp. 159-81. In this connection emigration from Montferrat and Piedmont to Genoese possessions overseas may be significant: M. Balard, 'L'emigrazione monferrino-piemontese in Oriente (secc. XII-XIV)', in *Atti del congresso internazionale 'Dai feudi monferrini e dal Piemonte ai nuovi mondi oltre gli oceani'*, Alessandria, 2-6 April 1990 (Alessandria, 1993), Vol. I, pp. 249-61.

15. Relations among Genoa, Castile, Aragon, and the Byzantine Empire in the age of the Sicilian Vespers centre on the figure of Benedetto Zaccaria: R.S. Lopez, *Genova Marinara nel Duecento: Benedetto Zaccaria, ammiraglio e mercante* (Messina - Milan, 1933); S. Runciman, *I Vespri siciliani: Storia del mondo mediterraneo alla fine del XIII secolo* (Milan, 1976), pp. 271-5. On the presence of Genoese in the Iberian Peninsula in the thirteenth century, see in particular R.S. Lopez, 'Ugo Vento primo genovese ammiraglio di Castilia', *Bollettino Ligustico*, 3 (1951), 65-71; M.L. Fantoni, 'L'insediamento genovese a Siviglia nei secoli XII e XIII: Aspetti socio-economici', *Nuova rivista storica*, 66; M.T. Ferrer I Mallol, 'Els italians a terres catalanes (segles XII-XV)', *Anuario de estudios medievales*, 10 (1980), 393-467. For the journey of Irene, see *Annali genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori dal 1280 al 1293* (Rome, 1929), Vol. V, p. 61.

himself to taking specific steps on behalf of the Italian Ghibellines. The marriage agreement stipulated that a contingent of 500 soldiers and financial assistance of 6,000 Genoese *lire* would be sent to northern Italy. It is probable that at the beginning of all this nothing was done because William of Montferrat, since 1282, had had a disagreement with the Milanese bishop Ottone Visconti, which placed him in open competition with the Lombard Ghibellines. It would be realistic to assume that this matter was the purpose of the mission led by Iacopo Doria to Constantinople in 1286, all the more so because two years later the Genoese joined the league against the marquis, who was defeated in 1290. Subsequently, when Robert of Anjou took over Genoa in 1318 and exiled his opponents, the *basileus* sent concrete help, by providing 10,000 *hyperpyra* for 'his Genoese Ghibellines', as he himself defined them. On that occasion Andronikos II, through his ambassador Stephanos Syropoulos, expressed his belief that he had a responsibility for the marquisate that his son Theodore had received from his mother, thereby showing a preference for the Italian Ghibelline side, whose loyalty he expected.¹⁶

Let us now focus on the marriage of Rita-Maria Xene. In 1294 the dialogue between Byzantium and the house of Anjou aiming at a possible marriage between Michael IX and Catherine of Courtenay, the heir to the Latin sovereigns of Constantinople, was suspended. The king of Cyprus, likewise, on the pretext of religious differences, in the end refused to send a bride. It was not until 1295 that Michael IX received a wife from King Hetoum II of Cilician Armenia, whose ecclesiastical position was one of wavering between Rome and Constantinople. The Genoese at that time were welcome guests in Lesser Armenia, and enjoyed new privileges granted to them in 1288; in Cyprus, where Henry II favoured the Venetians, the Genoese were viewed suspiciously. After the Laiazzo episode (1294), the mercantile war between Genoa and Venice, moving from the Aegean to the Black Sea, directly involved the Byzantines, who gravitated into the orbit of

16. Benvenuto di Sangiorgio, *Historia Montis Ferrati*, RIS, Vol. 23 (Milan, 1733), cols. 576-7; G. Caro, *Genova e la supremazia sul Mediterraneo (1257-1311)* (Genoa, 1974), Vol. II, pp. 116, 156. On the help provided in 1318: F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565-1453* (Munich – Berlin, 1960), Vol. II, p. 72, n. 2405; Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, pp. 265-6. For the speech of Syropoulos, see also *Parlamento di Monferrato*, ed. A. Bozzola (Bologna, 1926), p. 13.

Genoese influence and welcomed the Armenian princess.¹⁷

The house of Savoy's interest in countries overseas was only recent. Philip of Savoy had acquired possession of Achaia as a dowry from his wife Isabelle of Villehardouin, though he was soon deprived of it by Philip of Taranto (1307). It was Theodore I of Montferrat, the husband of the Genoese Argentina Spinola, who drew the attention of his father, Andronikos II and his nephew Andronikos III to Anna of Savoy.¹⁸ Against the background of this diplomatic move, the presence of the family of Captain Opecino Spinola, which was involved in the events of the Byzantine civil war and still in 1324 was represented at Pera by Barisone, *podestà* of Romania, reinforced connections with the circle of Genoese Ghibelline expatriates. Anna of Savoy's wedding, celebrated in October 1326, had been negotiated by means of chosen representatives especially for this reason. Together with the court official, Andronikos Tornikios, John of Giblet, a Cypriot in the service of the Byzantines, was sent as ambassador. John had been exiled from Cyprus at the time of Henry II and called back to his country by Hugh IV, the king who had confirmed the privileges of the Genoese in his kingdom. He also figures in the Genoese-Cypriot treaty of 1338 in connection with the Genoese Grifo de Mari, the recipient of a feudal benefice.¹⁹ It was John of Giblet who had to travel quickly to Savona to acquire some means of transport for Anna. At that time the city was home to the Genoese expatriate Ghibellines, and it is probable that as a Cypriot and a well-known personality he would have found the help he needed from those circles.

About a century later, the same experience took place, albeit under very different circumstances. The *basileus* Manuel wished to show his

17. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, pp. 54-5. For relations among Genoa, Cyprus, and Lesser Armenia, see W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du levant au Moyen Age* (Leipzig, 1885-86), Vol. II, pp. 83-4; F. Hill, *A History of Cyprus* (Cambridge, 1948), p. 2. For events involving Henry II of Lusignan and the Genoese, see Caro, *Genova e la supremazia*, Vol. II, pp. 295-9, 361-3. We do not know of any other privilege granted to the Genoese, but in 1335 they could still freely trade in Lesser Armenia; see F. Balducci Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, ed. A. Evans (Cambridge, MA., 1936), p. 61.
18. Muratore, *Una principessa sabauda*, pp. 245-49; Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, pp. 302-3. For the marriage of Argentina Spinola and Theodore of Montferrat, see A.E. Laiou, 'A Byzantine Prince Latinized: Theodore Palaeologus, Marquis of Montferrat', *Byzantion*, 38 (1968), 289-396.
19. L. De Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan* (Paris, 1852-61), Vol. II, pp. 173-4; Vol. III, pp. 700-701.

good intentions *vis-à-vis* the union and get help for the defence of the Hexamilion.²⁰ In 1418 he sent Nicolas Eudaimonoioannes to the Pope. Martin V's involvement won for him the two wives he had requested for his sons Theodore and John. These were, respectively, Cleope Malatesta, a relative of the pontiff, and Sophia, daughter of Theodore II, marquis of Montferrat. In the summer of 1420 the two young ladies left together on Venetian ships. By November Sophia was in Constantinople, where she was married on 19 January 1421. The Italian context weighed on this marriage more so than in the past. The Byzantines could not have been ignorant of the hegemonic role of Philip Maria Visconti, against whom the other north Italian powers were rebelling. However, in 1421 the duke of Milan had won over the new marquis of Montferrat and had taken possession of Genoa. Milanese rule, leading the city to incline towards a pro-Turkish position, caused the Byzantines to grow closer to Venice. But Byzantium also had to reckon with Murād. Faced with the urgency of concluding a peace agreement with the sultan (achieved on 22 February 1424), they could not avoid approaching the Genoese. So the Western spouse, who had been taken to Constantinople by the Venetians and apparently never loved by the emperor, turned to the inhabitants of Pera for help in order to be returned to her family (1426). A certain Zaccaria Spinola, received her upon her return from Greece. Sophia was always grateful to the Spinola family; in her will she remembered a certain Theodore Spinola, considering him as her spiritual son. The bishop Simon of Thessalonica's invective against the empress, who was considered unworthy because of her Italian origin, expressed disapproval for the pro-Turkish policies being pursued during Visconti rule.²¹

In pursuing Byzantine matrimonial alliances, the Italian cities sometimes used them as tools in their own immediate inter-city politics.

20. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus*, pp. 348-49. For the situation in Italy, see *Storia di Milano* (Milan, 1955), Vol. VI, pp. 183-92. For the Genoese interest in mediating between the Turks and the Byzantines, see S. Origone, *Bisanzio e Genova* (Genoa, 1992), pp. 170-71.

21. G.B. Moriondo, *Monumenta Aquensia* (Turin, 1789), Vol. I, cols. 398-401; Stella, *Annales genuenses*, *RIS*, 17/2 (Bologne, 1975), p. 361; W. Haberstumpf, 'Regesto dei marchesi di Monferrato di stirpe aleramica e paleologa per 'Outremer e l'Oriente (secoli XII-XV)', *Bolletino storico bibliografico subalpino* 86 (1988), 205; D. Balfour, *Political-historical Works of Symeon, Archbishop of Thessalonica* (Vienna, 1979), p. 53. See also Runciman, 'The Marriages of the Sons', 277-8.

By establishing its own network of alliances, Genoa set up a bulwark against Angevin aggression. But as time went on these relations meant for the Byzantines a loss of prestige *vis-à-vis* the Western world. On the contrary, the Westerners did become more and more influent, even with regard to matrimonial policy, and small European dynasties, such as those of Montferrat or Savoy, indeed gained honour from their repeated contacts with the Byzantine world.

Marriage connections have extended consequences, which affect genealogical memory and are strengthened when the link is repeated within the same families. Boniface I's conquest of the Kingdom of Thessalonica determined the Montferrat family's subsequent relations with the Palaiologean family; Yolande-Irene's later marriage to Andronikos II entailed, as the bride's dowry, the remission of the claims which the Aleramic family had on that kingdom; Andronikos III's rebellion against his grandfather delegitimized his assumption of the throne, in favour of Theodore and the latter's descendants: these facts were given in John II of Montferrat's will of the year 1372. He hoped for the Pope's support in case of any future plans for conquest.²² It is probable that the continual relations between Montferrat and the Palaiologean family led the marquesses to reinforce a line of rights *vis-à-vis* the empire. In the perspective suggested by Marquis Boniface III of Montferrat on the occasion of his marriage with Mary of Serbia, the chronicler Benvenuto di Sangiorgio, who in the late fifteenth century

22. Benvenuto di Sangiorgio, *Historia Montis Ferrati*, cols. 567-77. Theodore I never forgot the rights which he had in Constantinople and perhaps also in eastern Macedonia by inheritance from his mother but, unlike his son, he never claimed the Kingdom of Thessalonica and he expressed his aspirations to inherit the throne only formally, *vis-à-vis* Andronikos II, with whom he had had open differences. See Johannes Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum libri IV*, ed. L. Schopen (Bonn, Vol. I, 1828; Vol. II, 1831; Vol. III, 1832), Vol. III, p. 12; F. Cognasso, 'Una crisobolla di Michele IX Paeologo per Teodoro I di Monferrato', *Studi bizantini*, 2 (1927), 39-47; B. Imhaus and R. Loenertz, 'Démarches de Jean Paléologue, marquis de Monferrato (1338-1372) et petit fils de l'empereur Andronic II, pour faire valoir ses droits en Grèce (1338-1351)', *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 26 (1977), 155-8; W. Haberstumpf, 'Tra Monferrato e Bisanzio: un testamento del 1338 di Teodoro I Paleologo', *Quaderni medievali*, 19 (1985), 35-47; id., 'Continuità di rapporti fra Bisanzio e la corte dei Paleologi di Monferrato nei secoli XIV-XVI: realtà e leggende', *Studi Piemontesi*, 15 (1986), 73-81. For a critical view of the earliest presence of the Monferrat family overseas, see D. Jacoby, 'Conrad, Marquis of Monferrat, and the Kingdom of Jerusalem (1187-1192)', in *Dai feudi monferrini*, pp. 187-238.

included John II's will in his chronicle, intended to point out the fact that there was extensive experience of foreign marriages.

However, only the winning back of Thessalonica constituted a real political factor significant enough to inspire two initiatives, though they did not succeed. The first, in 1224, was the attempt to save Thessalonica from conquest by the despotate of Epiros, and the second, in 1347, was the Aleramic attempt to reconquer it.²³ From 1246 onwards Thessalonica, which had been reconquered by the Byzantines, was governed while guaranteeing the citizens the privileges which they had enjoyed under the Latins, and its governors had special position of independence of the administration in Macedonia. Members of the imperial family were sometimes sent to govern this city. The eldest son of Irene of Montferrat acquired the governorship of the city from his father in 1304. On his death, his mother, who had received some properties from her husband in Macedonia, succeeded him. Other empresses exercised particular leadership there. Rita-Maria was not able to govern the city after the death of her husband because of her father-in-law's hostility, but since 1330 she supported the government of Syrgiannēs against her own son. Anna of Savoy, taking the place of her son who was busy with his struggle for the empire, exercised personal rule over Thessalonica until the end of her days.²⁴

Let us now consider the significance of these marriages from the Byzantine point of view. Irene of Montferrat was married at the age of 11, Giovanna of Savoy at 19, Sophia of Montferrat also at a young age. All of them arrived in Constantinople with large retinues. Irene was

23. J. Longnon, 'La reprise de Salonique par les Grecs en 1224', in *Actes du VI^e Congrès international d'études byzantines* (Paris, 1950), Vol. I, pp. 141-6; more recently, M. Gallina, 'Fra Occidente e Oriente: la "crociata" aleramica per Tessalonica', in *Piemonte medievale: Forme del potere e della società* (Turin, 1985), pp. 65-83; W. Haberstumpf, 'Questioni prosopografiche e istituzionali circa il regno di Tessalonica nel secolo XIII', *Bollettino storico bibliografico subalpino*, 87 (1989), 201-90. On the 1347 attempt see the reference in Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum libri*, Vol. III, p. 12.

24. M. Constantinidi-Bibicou, 'Yolande de Montferrat, impératrice de Byzance', *L'Hellenisme contemporain*, 4 (1950), 425-42; L. Maksimović, *The Byzantine Provincial Administration under the Palaiologoi* (Amsterdam, 1988), pp. 248-67. For information on Rita-Maria and Anna in Thessalonica, see O. Tafrali, *Thessalonique des origines jusqu'au XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1917), *passim*; U.V. Bosch, *Kaiser Andronicus III, Palaiologos* (Amsterdam, 1965), pp. 91-2; see also J.W. Barker, 'The Problem of Appannages in Byzantium during the Palaiologan Period', *Byzantina*, 3 (1971), 103-22.

accompanied by three galleys, though perhaps not all of them were part of her retinue.²⁵ Giovanna brought along a small Latin court composed of 60 people and Sophia no doubt also had a Latin retinue.²⁶ But once its role as a magnificent escort for the bride's entry into the capital had been fulfilled, we know little about the function or destiny of any of these retinues. Probably brave combatants entertained the court with jousts and tournaments like those which had particular success with Andronikos III.²⁷ Latin dames were the empress's confidantes, like the group of ladies which, according to Ducas, accompanied Sophia of Montferrat to the garden where she awaited the time to flee to Pera.²⁸ Irene of Montferrat is described as being rather isolated during her stay in Constantinople, as though she were sustaining the claim of dominion for her children without any support.²⁹ After 1305, at Thessalonica, she was probably accompanied by a small retinue of followers, both men and women, whether Greek or Latin we do not know, to whom she expressed her invectives against her husband.³⁰ Her contacts with the Latin world became closer when she joined in with the plans of Charles of Valois against the emperor.³¹ A relative of her son Theodore, Nicola Spinola, is recorded as being among the supporters of the enterprise in Greece.

Information concerning Anna of Savoy is more abundant. The importance of her marriage due to contacts with a view to establishing the religious union and the empress's role as regent gave rise to continuous communications between the court of Constantinople and the environment from which she originated. From the beginning she had a magnificent retinue which — contemporaries say — dazzled the Byzantines. It included complete families, such as that of Isabella of Rochette. Andronikos III always favoured his Latin guests, and anyone who returned to Savoy could immediately be replaced by another.³²

In near-by Pera Anna had friends and relatives, such as Arego, the Franciscan bishop.³³ She also turned to her retinue of ladies at times of

25. *Annali genovesi di Caffaro*, Vol. V, p. 61.

26. Muratore, *Una principessa sabauda*, pp. 303-4.

27. Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum libri*, Vol. I, p. 205-6.

28. Ducas, *Istoria turco-bizantina (1341-1426)*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1958), pp. 137-8.

29. Constantinidi-Bibicou, 'Yolande de Montferrat', 425-42, cf. Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, Vol. I, pp. 233-5.

30. Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, Vol. I, pp. 235-6.

31. Constantini-Bibicou, 'Yolande de Montferrat', 437.

32. Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum libri*, Vol. I, p. 205.

33. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 503.

unhappiness. The court ladies who betrayed her by informing Apokaupos of her doubts may well have been Latin.³⁴ Her Latin entourage was inevitably drawn into the civil war. Artoto, the son of Isabella, was used by Apokaupos to discredit Kantakouzēnos in the empress's eyes.³⁵ Even the Genoese Fazzolati in her service betrayed her by going over to her rival.³⁶ When the civil war ended (1347), under John Kantakouzēnos' rule, she seems to have been deprived of all her Latin friends, who came back home. In Thessalonica, however, she could recover her contacts with both Genoese and Venetians.

The portraits of Irene of Montferrat, 'a woman without fear of God³⁷ or respect for men'; Empress Anna of Savoy, 'whose mind, that had never been inured to any discipline, could not control her eyes';³⁸ and Sophia of Montferrat, a repulsive-looking young woman, 'like Lent in front and Easter behind', who was nevertheless remembered by George Phrantzēs for her kind gift of one of her wedding dresses, do little honour to the Latin stock.³⁹ The behaviour of Irene and Anna, who were stubborn in the defence of their children, gave rise to hostility and mistrust. Compared with the figures of Greek women, such as Irene Komnēnē, the daughter-in-law of Irene of Montferrat, or Theodora Kantakouzēnē, the contemporary of Anna of Savoy, or Mary Komnēnē, the new wife of John VIII, exquisite models of the Byzantine tradition mixed with a dose of feminine enterprise, the foreign empresses seemed conduits of strange and disquieting cultural, political and religious values. Their presence did indeed have disturbing consequences for the customs of the imperial family. Theodore, the son of Irene, abandoned the religion and customs of the Greeks and became a Latin prince; John V, the son of Anna of Savoy, accepted the Roman faith. Following his marriage with Caterina, Zaccaria Thomas, the despot of the Morea, chose to go over to the Latin creed.

The contempt felt towards Italian women was therefore the result of a generic prejudice. Nevertheless, there were women who were praised because they adjusted to the Byzantine model. Following George Gemistos' words about Cleope Malatesta, the most significant example,

34. Ibid., pp. 202-3.

35. Ibid., pp. 124-6.

36. Ibid., pp. 600-601.

37. Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, Vol. I, p. 236.

38. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 702.

39. Ducas, *Istoria*, p. 137; Phrantzes, *Chronicon maius*, ed. J.B. Papadopoulos (Leipzig, 1935), pp. 122-4.

who in fact evoked extensive praise, Italian women had to abandon their soft and ceding native manners and learn the severe and modest Byzantine customs. This could happen, of course, as a result of religion. Not only was the Armenian Latin-creed Rita-Maria Xene eulogized by Nicephorus Gregoras, because she abandoned her parent's mistakes to embrace her husband's true faith, but even Empress Anna of Savoy, a supporter of Palamism, at last was in fact praised thanks to her choice in matters of religion. As is known, they both became nuns, entering a convent where they spent the last days of their lives, as did every good Palaiologean empress.⁴⁰

40. George Gemistos Plethon, *PG*, Vol. 160, col. 944. On Cleope Malatesta, see D.A. Zakythinos, *Le despotat grec de Morée: Histoire politique*, ed. C. Maltezou (London, 1975), pp. 188-91; S. Runciman, 'The Marriages'. On Byzantine women of the later period, see A.E. Laiou, 'The Role of Women in Byzantine Society', *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 31:1 (1981), 233-50; J. Gill, 'Matrons and Brides of Fourteenth Century Byzantium', *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 10 (1985), 39-56; On Yolanda of Montferat and Anna of Savoy, see also D.H. Nicol, *The Byzantine Lady: Ten Portraits, 1250-1500* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 48-58; 82-95. On Rita-Maria, who as a nun took the name Xene, and Anna of Savoy, whose name as a nun was Anastasia, see T. Couillard, 'Le Syndikon de l'orthodoxie: texte', *Travaux et mémoires*, 3 (1960), 100-103. For the funeral oration written on the occasion of Rita-Maria's death, see Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, Vol. II, p. 493.

Venice and Papal Bans on Trade with the Levant: The Role of the Jurist

Gherardo Ortalli

In May 1326, when Pope John XXII gave orders from Avignon to prosecute the jurist Rizzardo Malombra for being a rebel and a heretic to the Catholic Church, the Pope's order was not based on theological or doctrinal issues; the issues at stake concerned trade and general relations with the Muslim Levant. This affair is interesting because it shows how far states, keen on maintaining trade with the Orient, particularly Venice, would go in their struggle with the Church to keep the old channels open.

The Mamluks' dramatic conquest of Acre in 1291 had in fact marked the end of the 'Outremer'. The age of the crusades was largely over and in the face of these events Europe must have been less surprised than apprehensive for the future. It was apparent that it was unrealistic for Europeans to hope that the lost ground could be recovered: a trading bloc aimed at hurting Muslim economic interests seemed more feasible. A policy of this sort would of course have to take into account the established needs of the European mercantile powers. The entire Western economy, moreover, had a general interest in the products and raw materials which the Orient supplied and it was thus necessary to keep the Levantine markets open. However, there was no lack of advocates of an impossible reconquest, and above all the Church of Rome, with all its political and moral weight, was not willing to declare the game with the infidels over.

On the heels of the fall of Acre, Pope Nicholas IV in August 1291 issued some severe ordinances with the gravest of sanctions against anyone trading in 'arma, ferrum, lignamina, victualia et alia quecumque mercimonia' with 'Alexandria and other Saracen towns in Egypt'. The Pope's ordinances had numerous precedents, going back in particular to the canons of the Third and even more the Fourth Lateran Councils (of 1179 and 1215 respectively). To these provisions

This article was translated by Judith Roumani.

concerning strategic materials and victuals the new measure added the stricture concerning *mercimonia* of all types, in theory implying a total embargo.¹ After Nicholas IV, with Boniface VIII, Benedict XI, and Clement V, interventions followed one after another, though their results were sporadic. Their effectiveness depended on the specific situation, the contingent interests of the commercial powers, and the varying degree of severity to which the Curia itself required respect for its own legal measures.² In a situation of this sort, Venice perceived that its basic interests were at stake.

Acre had been Venice's most important commercial base in the Levant.³ It seems however to have been accepted that the events of 1291 (as had previously happened in 1261 with the end of the Latin Empire of the East) had not actually caused any change in the basic orientations of the Venetian economy. Probably not even the mental shifts had taken place which ought to have caused the Venetians to fear business risks, leading them to pay more attention to investments in real estate (besides an increase in donations to charity). As David Jacoby has also recently noted, what took place was somewhat in the way of a restructuring of the commercial network; thus, for example, the events of 1291 led to more intense trading in Laiazzo, Cyprus, or Byzantium, and greater attention being given to Lesser Armenia, Persia, or the Black Sea, without any diminishing of interest in Egypt, Syria, or the formerly crusader-held Levant.⁴

1. E. Langlois (ed.), *Les registres de Nicolas IV*, Vol. II (Paris, 1905), p. 901, Nos. 6784-88. For the conciliar canons, see G. Alberigo *et al.* (ed.), *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta* (Bologna, 1991, 1st edn., 1962), pp. 223, 270.
2. On the papal trade bans, see in general J. Trenchs Odena, "'De Alexandrinis'" (El comercio prohibido con los Musulmanes y el Papado de Aviñón durante la primera mitad del siglo XIV)', *Anuario de estudios medievales*, 10 (1980), 237-320; E. Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1983), pp. 17-44.
3. D. Jacoby, 'L'expansion occidentale dans le Levant: les Vénitiens à Acre dans la seconde moitié du treizième siècle', *Journal of Medieval History*, 3 (1977), 225-64, also in id., *Recherches sur la Méditerranée orientale du XII^e au XV^e siècle: Peuples, sociétés, économies* (London, 1979), No. VII.
4. See D. Jacoby, 'The Rise of a New Emporium in the Eastern Mediterranean: Famagusta in the Late Thirteenth Century', in id., *Studies on the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion* (Northampton, MA, 1989), No. VIII, p. 179; id., 'Nuovi e mutevoli orizzonti: verso ed oltre l'Oriente', in G. Ortalli (ed.), *Storia d'Europa*, Vol. II; *Il Medioevo* (Turin, 1994), pp. 1160-61; id., 'Continuità, adattamento e crescita: la presenza veneziana oltremare dal 1261 al 1298', in G. Cracco and G. Ortalli (eds.), *Storia di Venezia*, Vol. II, *Il Comune* (Rome, in press).

In this general realignment, Venice's relations with the Holy See remained very complex. It is strikingly obvious that in the case of Venice there was a clash between the two basic requirements: on one hand, interest in keeping open commercial links with the Islamic Levant; on the other hand, the Pope's intent to isolate the infidels. This conflict was fuelled by other sources of tension. For one thing, attitudes were heavily influenced by the bitter conflict which had broken out in 1308 between the Holy See and Venice over Ferrara.⁵ And before that, in 1300, the proclamation of a jubilee year had had an impact on Venetian-papal relations. The more intense involvement in religion it evoked brought to the fore illicit trading with infidels and hardened attitudes towards those going against pontifical dictates.⁶

The very complexity of the situation and changing economic conditions led the Commune of Venice to behave in apparently inconsistent ways: though on one hand Venice neither wished nor was able to break with the Catholic solidarity that the Pope demanded, on the other the Venetians carried on their commercial relations and political and diplomatic contacts as best they could. There were breaches of law and there were commercial operations carried out in more or less open contempt of the papal provisions. Otherwise, Venice's policy of maintaining relations with the Islamic world followed two main lines: first, there were continual discussions with the Curia (in Rome and later in Avignon) to obtain an easing of the constraints, greater freedom of trade, and pardon (though it was not without cost) for those who had violated the ban on trade. In this context, Venice simultaneously maintained, particularly in relation to the acts of the Church councils, that the prohibitions on trade applied only to strategic materials and thus trade in other goods should be allowed.

The conduct of Venice, characterized by marked pragmatism (or, perhaps, ambiguity), sought room for manoeuvre without too high a material cost and without unmanageable conflict with the papacy. However, this attempt both to have one's cake and eat it was sorely tested between 1322 and 1344, when the Curia became more intransigent and tightened the embargo to the extreme.⁷ Up to then, the

5. G. Soranzo, *La guerra fra Venezia e la S. Sede per il dominio di Ferrara (1308-1313)* (Città di Castello, 1905).

6. G. Ortalli, 'Il procedimento *per gratiam* e gli ambienti ecclesiastici nella Venezia del primo Trecento. Tra amministrazione, politica e carità', in *Chiesa Società e Stato a Venezia. Miscellanea di studi in onore di Silvio Tramontin* (Venice, 1994), pp. 90-95.

7. I have slightly expanded the period 1323-44 proposed by Ashtor in *Levant Trade*, pp. 44-63.

commune Veneciarium tried to take advantage of any possible opening and the slightest concession on the part of the Pope. This is not the place to outline the history of relations between Venice and the papal Curia with regard to the Levant, but it would be worthwhile to recall a few of the most important points in order to understand the delicacy of the situation and the inevitable wavering in Venetian behaviour.

For example, in 1291 Pope Nicholas IV instructed the bishop of the Venetian diocese of Castello to publish *coram populo* and to have his edicts concerning trade with the infidels recorded in the public books of the city.⁸ Or in 1292, Venice undertook to forbid the sale of slaves in Egypt *ad terras Soldani*, ensuring that all its *rettori* in the Levant were aware of this decision.⁹ In another instance around the end of August 1301 it instructed its ambassadors to Rome at the court of Pope Boniface VIII to use their most convincing arguments to persuade the Pope to authorize travel by Venetians to Alexandria, without revealing any of this to King Charles II of Naples when these same emissaries reached Naples.¹⁰ In the meantime, diplomatic contacts with the sultan of Babylonia, that is the Mamluk lord of Egypt, still continued, and were widened in the 1302 agreement, a treaty which established, among other things, that Venetians who had imported prohibited goods into Egypt were allowed to invest their profits in export goods without paying taxes, *absque aliqua drictura*.¹¹

Despite the 1302 agreement with the sultan, two years later the official registers of the *commune Veneciarum* included the acts of Benedict XI, which recalled and emphasized the old regulations, especially those approved by the Church councils and by Nicholas IV.

8. *Registres de Nicolas IV*, Vol. II, p. 901, No. 6787. See n. 1 above and text.

9. R. Cessi, *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, Vol. III (Bologna, 1934), p. 318, No. 28; F. Thiriet, *Délibérations des assemblées vénitiennes concernant la Romanie*, Vol. I, 1160-1363 (Paris – The Hague, 1966), p. 66, No. 169.

10. R. Cessi and P. Sambin, *Le deliberazioni del Consiglio dei Rogati (Senato), serie 'Mixtorum'* (hereafter Cessi and Sambin, *Senato Misti*), Vol. I, Monumenti storici della Deputazione di storia patria per la Venezia, NS, 15 (Venice, 1960), p. 38 (I.136); Thiriet, *Délibérations*, pp. 87-8, No. 33. The first 14 registers of the Senate's *deliberazioni miste* have been almost totally lost, only the index pages having been preserved.

11. G.M. Thomas (ed.), *Diplomatarium veneto-levantinum sive Acta et diplomata res Venetas Graecas atque Levantis illustrantia a. 1300-1454*, Vol. I, Monumenti storici pubblicati dalla r. Deputazione veneta di storia patria, ser. I, 5 (Venice, 1880), pp. 5-9, No. 4, esp. p. 6. See Jacoby, 'Continuità, adattamento e crescita', n. 71 and text.

Anyone found to have exported prohibited goods to Alexandria, Egypt, or Syria would be subject to excommunication, the loss of civil rights, and perpetual infamy.¹² But immediately beneath this threatening bull from Benedict XI, on the very same page, we find the declaration of 8 April 1304 by Brother Enrico da Rimini, the Dominican friar who represented Venice's interests in Rome. He had heard directly from the Pope in the presence of the pontifical chaplain, that the Venetians would be able to trade directly with Egypt and with the subjects of the sultan in any goods (namely textiles and clothing) not specifically prohibited in the papal bull of a few days earlier. To enhance its effectiveness, Brother Enrico prefaced this statement with a solemn introduction ('Noverint universi presentes litteras inspecturi . . .'), and cast it in the first person, under which the friar speaks authoritatively ('audivi', 'intellexi').¹³

Venice thus insisted on the difference between forbidden and permissible merchandise. In February 1304 the *Rogati* (Senate) had made a distinction between 'prohibita' and 'permissa'; and between 'vetita et permissa portari in Alexandriam' when they addressed the subject again in April 1312.¹⁴ Even in the Great Council it was still maintained that the papal edicts seemed to restrict only trade in strategic items.¹⁵ At the same time diplomatic efforts continued. In February 1304 the decision to send an emissary to the Pope 'ad supplicandum quod concedat nobis posse ire in Alexandriam cum mercibus' had not been brought to fruition, but after Benedict XI's aforementioned decrees, the task was taken up again in April.¹⁶ In May 1310 the Grand Master of the Hospitallers received a letter from Venice informing him, among other things, that ambassadors had gone to Pope

12. *Diplomatarium veneto-levantinum*, pp. 19-21, No. 9 (letter to the Doge of 3 April 1304) and 10 (bull, n.d.); R. Predelli, *I libri Commemorativi della Repubblica di Venezia. Regesti*, Vol. I (Venice, 1876), pp. 37, 39 (I. 161, 169).

13. Archivio di Stato di Venezia (hereafter ASV), *Commemorativi*, reg. I, fol. 48r, see Predelli, *Commemorativi*, p. 38 (I. 166).

14. Cessi and Sambin, *Senato Misti*, Vol. I, pp. 109 (II. 75), 137 (III. 119).

15. ASV, *Maggior Consiglio, Deliberazioni*, reg. XI, *Liber Presbiter* (copy), fols. 245v-246v: 'non videatur inhiberi iter Alexandrie nisi illis qui ad Saracenos portarent equos, arma, ferrum, lignamina et alia cum quibus Saraceni possent impugnare Christianos' (fol. 87r in the original, which is not available for consultation).

16. Cessi and Sambin, *Senato Misti*, Vol. I, pp. 109 (II. 76), 110 (II. 88). In 1304 the Mamluk governor of Safed and Acre guaranteed free access to the region for Venetians: *Diplomatarium veneto-levantinum*, Vol. I, pp. 30-31, No. 17.

Clement V to settle the differences which had existed since the time of Boniface VIII.¹⁷ In 1317 the Doge was still pointing out to the papal legate how much Venice needed sea trade for its very survival; he also emphasized how Venice had respected the papal bans by not exporting any goods useful in war to the sultan's realms (thereby implying that the bans must concern only strategic material); he asked the legate to speak to the Pope in order to obtain permission to trade in gold, silver, tin, copper, textiles, and saffron by exporting local products.¹⁸ Two years later, some time between February and May of 1319, it was proposed again that pressures be put on the Pope to lift commercial restrictions; the Venetian ambassadors had an outright guarantee of 5,000 florins at their disposal to win the license to trade in at least the designated goods.¹⁹

Hopes that there would be some relief in the embargo did not fade, but they consistently turned out to be illusions. In October 1308 Clement V (who had succeeded Benedict XI in 1305) ordered that the statute which prohibited exports, reinforcing all the provisions of Nicholas IV, be published in Venice and deposited in the public archives. The new measures banned export to Alexandria and the Saracens in Egypt of not only arms, horses, iron, timber, and victuals, but also (once more) 'alia quecunque mercimonia', under the usual punishment of excommunication, infamy, and forfeiture of goods and civil rights.²⁰ The very insistence of the diplomatic pressure exerted on the Holy See proves its intention of not revising the earlier measures. In fact the Venetians did still succeed in visiting Alexandria, Damietta, and Tinnis, travelling also to Syria, Beirut, or Latakia and, in the hinterland, as far as Damascus, Hamas, and Ramla.²¹ But things were getting more and more difficult. Each attempt to compromise with Avignon collapsed in the face of mounting intransigence. The years of greatest rigidity and the tightest embargo were approaching.

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17. G. Giomo, *Lettere segrete del Collegio rectius Minor Consiglio, 1308-1310*, Miscellanea di storia veneta della r. Deputazione di storia patria, ser. III, 1 (Venice, 1910), p. 366, No. 555; Thiriet, *Délibérations*, pp. 133-4, No. 210.

18. Predelli, *Commemoriali*, Vol. I, pp. 184-5 (II. 64-5).

19. Cessi and Sambin, *Senato Misti*, Vol. I, pp. 200 (V. 277), 207 (V. 353).

20. ASV, *Commemoriali*, reg. I, fol. 151 (150)v. See Predelli, *Commemoriali*, Vol. I, pp. 89 (I. 381), 173 (II. 17); *Diplomatarium veneto-levantinum*, pp. 74-5, No. 39; *Regestum Clementis Papae V ex vaticanis archetypis*, Vol. II (Rome, 1895), Nos. 2994, 3088.

21. For a summary, see Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, pp. 26-7.

On 15 November 1322 Pope John XXII allowed the apostolic collectors to absolve Venetians who had been subject to Church censure for having conducted commerce with the sultan's lands; the persons involved naturally had to have repented of their deed, and to have paid the fines that the collectors required for the Apostolic Camera.²² This action which, according to Church regulations, could resolve the issue of non-compliance through payment of a fine, seems to imply an administrative transaction, and makes it look as if the Papal Curia was open to compromise. It should nevertheless be viewed as the first action initiating a series of measures reflecting a policy of utmost severity. The relationship in effect was being redefined with a new and radical clarity. The Church was turning over a new page by holding Venice to account, including in the material sense.

The repercussions of the new papal attitude were soon felt along the canals of Venice. In January 1323 the *Rogati* and the *Quarantia* issued a general ban on commerce with the lands of the sultan and forbade voyages for any purpose whatsoever to Egypt or Syria; no one was allowed any more 'ire in Alexandriam vel ad alias terras Soldano subiectas cum aliquibus rebus vel mercibus'.²³ Meanwhile John XXII reissued the 1291 edict of Nicholas IV;²⁴ and on 3 November 1323 a measure was passed in Venice requiring all subjects of the Republic (with their persons and goods) to leave the sultan's territories by the end of April 1324.²⁵ The bans were not only very harsh, but also they were applied without any flexibility which in the past might have been possible. As a result, the galley sailings to Alexandria were suspended and the consulate in Alexandria closed. In fact, in 1345, when the situation had once more changed and Venice was able to sign a new trade agreement with Egypt, it was noted in the agreement that for 23 years no Venetian ship had cast anchor in the ports of the sultan's realms: 'no haveva zà vintitré anni navegado a le nostre parte'.²⁶ Thus the new situation aroused great tensions in Venetian circles.

22. Predelli, *Commemoriali*, Vol. I, p. 246 (II. 342).

23. P. Ratti Vidulich, *Duca di Candia. Bandi (1313-1329)*, Fonti per la storia di Venezia (Venice, 1965), pp. 129-30, No. 342; Cessi and Sambin, *Senato Misti*, Vol. I, p. 265 (VII. 239).

24. G. Mollat (ed.), *Jean XXII (1316-1334). Lettres communes analysées d'après les registres dits d'Avignon et du Vatican*, Vol. V (Paris, 1909), p. 197, Nos. 20313-14 (5 Sept. 1323).

25. Ratti Vidulich, *Duca di Candia*, pp. 148-9, No. 383; Cessi and Sambin, *Senato Misti*, Vol. I, p. 275 (VII. 363). See Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, pp. 44-5.

26. *Diplomatarium veneto-levantinum*, p. 291, No. 153.

A new phase in the sharp confrontation had begun. Venice played all the cards it had, bringing into play its full political and diplomatic weight, and taking advantage of the help of foreign rulers who might intercede with the Pope, as the Doge indicated to the envoy of the king of Naples in October 1324.²⁷ From the Venetian point of view it was worthwhile taking advantage of any possibility, even the chance that the Pope would feel more favourably disposed if he were helped to regain possession of Ferrara; at least so wrote Brother Paolino da Venezia, then the bishop of Pozzuoli and papal nuncio, in January 1325.²⁸ All of this, namely the obvious role of political and diplomatic relations within the framework of the international economy and commercial interests, is not surprising. Less expected (and less known) is the importance that the legal aspects took on in the opposing viewpoints at stake. It is in this context that Rizzardo Malombra plays his role.

The above-mentioned measure of 15 November 1322, concerning Venetians who had been subject to ecclesiastical censure for doing business with Saracens, related to events which had taken place a few months earlier. In March the Venetian government had passed a measure requesting persons involved to appeal in the cases brought against them.²⁹ On 11 August Pope John XXII decreed that all deposits and economic interests due to the Holy See in Venice (subsidies for the Holy Land or any other fund) be assigned to its own representatives.³⁰ These were Ademaro Targa, the archpriest of San Africano in the diocese of Vabres, and the Dominican friar Folco *de Sistarico* (Sisteron); their actions, however, were to provoke disruptive tensions. With strong support from Avignon, not only were these two permitted to apply canonical censure but (on 17 October 1322) they also received authorization from the pontiff to requisition as well as to compel judges, notaries, and others to provide assistance in exacting deposits, bequests, and other funds due to the Holy See.³¹

27. Predelli, *Commemoriali*, Vol. I, p. 262 (II. 419).

28. Ibid., p. 263 (II. 428). For a summary of the Ferrara issue, see L. Chiappini, 'La vicenda estense a Ferrara nel Trecento', in A. Vasina (ed.), *Storia di Ferrara*, Vol. V, *Il basso medio evo* (Ferrara, 1987), pp. 201-6.

29. Cessi and Sambin, *Senato Misti*, Vol. I, p. 248 (VII. 17): 'nominati in processibus domini Ademari faciant procuracionem ad appellandum'; also p. 258 (VII. 149).

30. Predelli, *Commemoriali*, Vol. I, p. 243 (II. 330).

31. Ibid., p. 245 (II. 340).

The operation was not going to be a simple one, and after the above-mentioned bull of November 1322, on 5 April 1323, Pope John XXII intervened once more, ordering Ademaro (who was now described as dean of the church of Tulle) and Brother Folco to search out all those who continued the prohibited trade with the Saracens and other infidels. They were also empowered to search out individuals who had made wills in favour of the Holy See to obtain absolution for sins of that sort, and had annulled their wills once their well-being had improved.³² This papal letter highlights the problems involved in implementing his policy. Underlying the differences there was first the controversy over trade with the Mamluks and, secondly, the question as to which merchandise could be considered licit even within the embargo declared by the Pope. Third was the issue of fines and monetary penalties which had to be paid to the Holy See by anyone who had contravened the bans. Alongside this was the issue of bequests which, for the sake of saving one's soul, were made to the Church or to ecclesiastical institutions by anyone wishing to clear himself of the sin of having traded with the infidels. Lastly, still with regard to the matter of wills, there was the issue of those who annulled their bequests when, after recovery, they became less fearful of divine justice.

With regard to bequests, one must also take into account Venice's outright hostility towards donations to the Church *ad pias causas*. If not controlled, bequests to the Catholic Church ran the risk of impoverishing the secular realm and increasing the power (not just in the economic sense) of clerical institutions, a threat which was not looked upon kindly. Legal steps had been taken several times regarding this issue. Thus, for example, Jacopo Tiepolo's 1242 Statutes (on which all of Venetian legislation was based until the fall of the Serenissima in 1797) already forbade anyone who had entered a monastery to make a will and provided that whenever there was a natural heir, the monastery could receive at most a portion of his personal property and none of his real estate. The Statutes also stipulated that monks or nuns could not receive a portion of a family patrimony.³³ As an example, during the conflict which we are following, Francesco Dandolo (Doge between 1329 and 1339) decreed that real estate in the *civitas Rivoalti* (Venice) bequeathed *ob pias causas* in perpetuity or for more than ten years, to

32. Ibid., p. 250 (II. 360).

33. R. Cessi (ed.), *Gli statuti veneziani di Jacopo Tiepolo del 1242 e le loro glosse*, Memorie del r. Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 30/2 (Venice, 1938), pp. 209-10 (IV. 29-30).

individuals or juridical persons not subject to temporal jurisdiction, should be sold, while guaranteeing that the benefits of the sale could go to the beneficiary of the bequest.³⁴ Such preoccupations lasted for many years; in 1536, for example, the temporary assignment of real estate, limited to ten years in the time of Francesco Dandolo, was reduced to just two years, and the legislative measure began with the preamble that 'it is not permissible that all the property of this town should fall into the hands of ecclesiastics through bequests in wills or donations *ad pias causas*'.³⁵

But let us remain within the limits of our period and the subject of donations to the Church specifically in order to atone for contraventions of the ecclesiastical bans concerning infidels. The Venetian state's hostility to the intentions represented in the city by Ademaro of Tulle and Brother Folco was clear. And this hostility expressed itself in two ways: on one side there was explicit support for anyone who was not inclined to accede to the requests of the papal representatives; on the other the Procurators of San Marco (whose responsibility it was to administer bequests, estates, and wardships), in line with general political preferences, were not disposed to favour the wishes of the Holy See. Later documentation makes these attitudes more explicit. But in the meantime, following the papal letter of 5 April 1323, Venice broadened the field of the conflict and turned to legal instruments. And here Rizzardo Malombra enters the scene.

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This Malombra, a native of Cremona, from 10 February 1315 onwards had been acting as legal adviser on public affairs (*consultore in iure*); even before he had taken on this position, Venice had turned to him to draw on his great reputation and recognized expertise. He thus assumed a pre-eminent role in defining the juridical justification for the Venetian state interests. For example he had taken part in the disputes which had emerged from time to time between Venice and such entities as the patriarchate of Aquileia, Ferrara, Treviso, Genoa, or Milan, the Este or the della Scala family. He also gave legal advice on feudal matters, issues in public administration, and the interpretation of statutes, questions concerning Venetian governors outside Venice, or the

34. *Novissima statuta Veneta* (Venice, 1729), fols. 92v-93r (VI. 57).

35. *Ibid.*, fol. 243r-v.

disposal of the assets of heretics.³⁶ It was natural, then, that he would be involved in differences between Venice and the Holy See concerning relations with the Levant.

Through the above-mentioned bull of 5 April 1323, John XXII approved the actions of Ademaro Targa who (after his associate Friar Folco had more or less left the scene) in the meantime had advisedly moved to Treviso. The Venetian government's opinion on Ademaro's work was extremely negative: 'Facit graves et inauditos processus contra multos de Veneciis, super quibus expedit provideri'. Something had to be done and therefore, on 10 April, in the name of the general interest, *pro bono terre*, the Great Council of Venice discussed appointing a commission of *sapientes* to provide support to the Council of Ten, the *Rogati*, and the *Quarantia* in dealing with the problem.³⁷ Within a few days, on 16 April, the college of *sapientes* presented its *consilium*. The experts had examined the requests twice submitted by the nuncios of the Holy See to the Procurators of San Marco and the Procurators' replies; they had carefully examined the proceedings initiated by the two nuncios and the judgements they had passed. The commission's opinion was unanimous: the nuncios had exceeded by far the limits of the mandate; thus the illegal procedures and judgements would have to be revoked. If the papal delegates did not accept the request, 'interponatur appellacio ad apostolicam sedem'; an appeal to the pontiff would have to be made both in the name of the *commune Veneciarum* of which the Procurators were the representatives, and in the name of the associations and private citizens.³⁸

The commission which expressed such a firm opinion was composed of seven jurists, headed, significantly enough, by Rizzardo Malombra. The other members were Riticherio da Guastalla,

36. The best account of Malombra is still E. Besta, *Riccardo Malombra professore nello Studio di Padova consultore di stato in Venezia. Ricerche* (Venice, 1894). For other useful information on the issue, see also M. Bellomo, 'Giuristi e inquisitori del Trecento. Ricerca su testi di Iacopo Belvisi, Taddeo Pepoli, Riccardo Malombra e Giovanni Calderini', in *Per Francesco Calasso. Studi degli allievi* (Rome, 1978), pp. 36-43; id., 'Giuristi cremonesi e scuole padovane. Ricerche su Nicola da Cremona', in *Studi in onore di Ugo Gualazzini*, Vol. I (Milan, 1981), pp. 81-93; D. Quaglioni, 'Civilis sapientia'. *Dottrine giuridiche e dottrine politiche fra medioevo ed età moderna* (Rimini, 1989), pp. 18, 19n, 42n, 48.

37. ASV, *Maggior Consiglio, Fronesis*, fol. 130r; see Besta, *Riccardo Malombra*, pp. 98-9.

38. Predelli, *Commemoriali*, Vol. I, p. 250 (II. 361); Besta, *Riccardo Malombra*, pp. 100-101, No. XXVIII.

Rolandino Belvisi, Arpolino da Mantova, Armano da Ferrara, Francesco de Burfoli, and Giovanni Boniolo. Some of them had already worked as advisers to the Commune of Venice and some will crop up again in later phases of the dispute. However, drawing up such an array of experts and exhibiting such determination did not bring about any significant changes in the situation for the Venetians. In January 1324 three *sapientes* had to be called upon again to speak with Ademaro at Mestre (which, we remember, was outside the Dogado, in the district of Treviso). It was highly likely that Malombra was one of those three 'locuturos in Mestre cum ser Adalmario'.³⁹ But the tensions did not subside. In April the Venetian government repeated its invitation to private persons to volunteer to be go-betweens in appealing to the pontiff and, at the same time, the Doge wrote to the Bishop of Castello asking him to help put an end to the abuses which were taking place.⁴⁰

Ademaro carried on with the procedures which he had undertaken against many Venetian nobles and citizens accused of having traded 'mercimonia et alias res prohibitas in Alexandriam et ad loca vetita Saracenorum'; he had also arranged for the patriarch of Grado and other eminent exponents of the Venetian ecclesiastical hierarchy to publish the sentences of excommunication which he had issued. The jurists were obliged to react. On 13 July 1324 a new commission of experts, again under the leadership of Rizzardo Malombra, challenged Ademaro Targa's allegations once more. Again we find Arpo da Mantova, Rolandino Belvisi, and Armano Agazoti da Ferrara (described respectively as *legum doctor*, *decretorum doctor*, and *legum professor*), supported by the bishop of Chioggia and the *primicerius* of the Venetian diocese of Castello. The opinion of the experts was once again on a collision course with that of the papal legate: according to their legal opinion the patriarch of Grado and the other prelates were not supposed to publish the sentences of excommunication.⁴¹

Since positions had hardened in the conflict, the Pope himself felt that he had to intervene. On 1 October 1324 John XXII entrusted Aimerico, the Archbishop of Ravenna, with examining the controversies which had arisen between the representatives of the Holy See

39. Cessi and Sambin, *Senato Misti*, Vol. I, p. 277 (VII. 395); also p. 283 (VIII. 5).

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 283-4 (VIII. 9-10).

41. Predelli, *Commemoriali*, Vol. I, pp. 257-8 (II. 406); Besta, *Riccardo Malombra*, pp. 104-5, No. XXXI; *Diplomatarium veneto-levantinum*, pp. 196-7, No. 96.

and the Commune of Venice, and invited him to meet the parties to the controversy so that he could send the Pope more precise information. The Pope noted that he did not have *plenam noticiam* of the matter, but what he wrote to the Archbishop of Ravenna was enough to indicate the seriousness of the conflict. Ademaro Targa had not been treading lightly, and the Venetians were attributing to him many grave faults. He had even accused the elderly and respected Gratone Dandolo, a Procurator of San Marco, of having raised his hand against him, and had summoned him to Treviso to face trial. He had also summoned Nicolò Venier, one of the *signori di notte* (Lords of the Night), for disarming one of his servants who went around bearing arms incorrectly. He had issued condemnations unsparingly: excommunications for the living, and exhumation and removal of remains from hallowed ground for the dead. He had proclaimed ecclesiastical sanctions at Padova and Treviso, and had been particularly harsh in demanding payments for the Holy Land and for the Church in general. The long list of Venetians summoned by the dozen is amazing, and reflects how important trade with the Levant still was after years of hardship. Many of the most important Venetian families appear in the list: Dolfín, Dandolo, Loredan, Contarini, Cappello, Gradenigo, Morosini, Soranzo, Malipiero, Falier di San Maurizio, Badoer, Barbarigo, Nani, Barbo, Corner . . . This in itself caused great unease and tensions in the city as expressed even by the Doge himself. The implacable Ademaro Targa had provoked a veritable earthquake.⁴²

By entrusting the issue at hand to the Archbishop of Ravenna and carefully compiling a list of the charges brought against Ademaro Targa, the Pope might have given the impression that he was willing to consider the Venetian charges. The Venetians likewise pursued the matter through diplomatic means while continuing to make use of jurisconsults.⁴³ But all hopes ended in failure. The opinion that the Archbishop of Ravenna eventually conveyed to Avignon is not known to us. It is certain, however, that John XXII was preparing to sustain the severest measures against trade with the Saracens. On 1 July 1326, he announced clear censures against any and all who maintained that it

42. Besta, *Riccardo Malombra*, pp. 107-11, No. XXXV; Predelli, *Commemoriali*, Vol. I, pp. 260-61 (II. 415).

43. See nn. 27-8 above and text. The 'sapientes electi super questionibus domini Ademarii' are mentioned four times between May and Sept. 1325, in Cessi and Sambin, *Senato Misti*, Vol. I, pp. 300, 301, 305, 306 (IX. 22, 35, 87, 95).

was legal to trade in goods not explicitly banned by conciliar canons,⁴⁴ declaring them to be heretics, subjecting them to excommunication, and ordering that they be prosecuted to the fullest extent possible under the censure, affirming in no uncertain terms the full meaning and effect of previous papal edicts.⁴⁵

Although the Pope's edict applied universally, it undoubtedly struck a blow in the ongoing dispute with Venice since it specifically condemned the very interpretation that the Venetians tried to legitimize.⁴⁶ As will be seen in detail below, the figure of Rizzardo Malombra unfolds within this framework, although the Pope's decision had in fact put an end to Venetian hopes of trying to resolve the conflict on its legal merits. Due to lack of documentary sources, we do not know at present how the thorny conflict with Ademaro Targa turned out. Perhaps the issue was allowed to drag on without further earthshaking decisions and the passage of time probably soothed the most strident voices. It seems certain, though, that Venice abandoned its frontal approach to the Pope. Instead, diplomatic efforts came to the fore again, and in 1327 the Doge, Giovanni Soranzo, 'humiliter et cum instantia', appealed to the Pope for a softening of the ban on trade relations, reminding him of how important these were for the economic survival of Venice 'negotiationum comercia, de quibus dumtaxat civitas nostra vivit'.⁴⁷ In 1328 Venice was preparing new diplomatic initiatives *vis-à-vis* Church authorities, with a view to resuming commercial ties with the Islamic Levant.⁴⁸ But these approaches produced no concrete results.

A turning-point in the Pope's position only came about in the 1340s. Not coincidentally, this was the time when commercial relations with Persia and southern Russia were becoming dangerous or impractical, making it more urgent to reopen the markets of Egypt and Syria. These were also the years when Venice joined the coalition against the Turks

44. ASV, *Commemoriali*, reg. II, fol. 192r: 'presumebant ut pertinaciter assererent ab illarum rerum commercio et negotiorum exercicio fore solummodo abstinendum que dumtaxat in prefatis conciliis prohibentur, mendaciter dampnabiliter abstruentes contra constitutiones predictas victualia et alia quecunque mercimonia, preter dicta in illis conciliis prohibita, in Alexandriam vel alia loca Saracenorum terre Egipti deferre vel mittere non est peccatum'.

45. Ibid; see Predelli, *Commemoriali*, Vol. I, p. 272 (II. 465).

46. See nn. 13 and 18 above.

47. *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum*, pp. 208-9, No. 105.

48. Cessi and Sambin, *Senato Misti*, Vol. I, pp. 361, 367, 370, 371 (XI. 31, 98, 137, 138).

organized by Clement VI.⁴⁹ The turning-point was signalled by Clement's concession of 27 April 1344 allowing the Venetians to send six galleys and four large ships to the sultan's ports over a five-year period. A year later, in 1345, the Pope affirmed and broadened his concession,⁵⁰ while Venice was reaching a new agreement with the sultan.⁵¹ A new phase had opened in relations with the East.

* * *

During the most critical phase of the controversy between Venice and the Holy See, Rizzardo Malombra emerged as a personality of the first order. Beyond his formal role as *consultore in iure*, it should be recognized that he had a decisive part in formulating the position of Venice. The Curia in Avignon clearly recognized this when, in the period leading up to the bull of 1 July 1326, it identified Malombra as the theoretician on the limits of papal trade bans. It was he who (besides harbouring sympathies for the enemies of the Church — the Visconti, Este, Louis the Bavarian) presumed to 'assume the defence' of 'those wicked Christians who, tempted by earthly riches, did not shrink from conducting forbidden trade with the Saracens'.⁵² In 1325 he had already been warned, but evidently to no avail. As a result, on 7 May 1326 the Pope charged his legate in Bologna, Cardinal Bertrand du Poujet, with beginning proceedings against Malombra and his theorizing.⁵³ On 22

49. See K.M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*, Vol. I, *The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Philadelphia, 1976), pp. 182-5, *passim*; E.A. Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade: Venetian Crete and the Emirates of Mentesche and Aydin (1300-1415)* (Venice, 1983), pp. 43-7; N. Housley, *The Avignon Papacy and the Crusades, 1305-1378* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 32-4, 121-2, 204, *passim*.

50. *Diplomatarium veneto-levantinum*, pp. 277-8, 306-7, Nos. 144, 162; Predelli *Commemoriali*, Vol. II (Venice, 1878), pp. 137, 149 (IV. 122, 172). See E. Ashtor, 'Observations on Venetian Trade in the Levant in the XIVth Century', *Journal of European Economic History*, 5 (1976), 533-41; id., *Levant Trade*, pp. 64-9.

51. *Diplomatarium veneto-levantinum*, pp. 289-98, Nos. 153-5.

52. Odoricus Raynaldus (O. Rinaldi), *Annales Ecclesiastici ab anno MCXCVIII ubi desinit cardinalis Baronius*, Vol. V (Lucca, 1750), p. 329; Rinaldi refers indirectly to the year 1325, speaking of 1326 as the 'following year'.

53. Ibid: 'asserere, affirmare, astruere ac dogmatizare, verbo et scriptis, in suae salutis animae dispendium et multorum quos secum in errorem haeresis damnatae satagebat trahere, perniciem et jacturam, quod deferre vel mittere Saracenis in Alexandriam aut in alia loca Saracenorum terrae Aegypti virtualia et alia quaecumque mercimonia, praeter predicta in eisdem conciliis prohibita, non erat peccatum, praesumpserat damnabiliter ac etiam praesumebat'. See Besta, *Riccardo Malombra*, pp. 26-7.

July 1327 the accusations of the ecclesiastic authorities were transmitted to the Council of Ten, which had to decide whether to open formal hearings against Malombra, but the request did not receive a single vote in its favour.⁵⁴

Even after the controversy subsided, Venice showed no intention of abandoning its adviser for the sake of peace with the Curia. It continued to draw on his legal abilities, at least until 1330, when he penned an erudite opinion on the legality of the measures taken against the Sicilian pirate Nicoloso.⁵⁵ Furthermore, just as the Council of Ten had refuted all attempts to put him on trial, the *Rogati* and the Great Council intervened actively several times on behalf of Malombra by putting direct pressures on the papal legate. For lack of documentation there is not much more information on the subject, but we do know about missions and emissaries being sent to the cardinal legate at Bologna between 1326 and 1329. The scant notes of these missions that are available attest to the following: 'Possit mitti aliqua bona et discreta persona ad dominum legatum in favorem domini Rizardi de Malumbris'; or 'nostri ambaxatores de Curia legati reccomendent ei negocium domini Rizardi'; or, again, 'cum captum sit de mittendo unum ambaxatorem Bononiam ad legatum in favorem domini Rizardi'.⁵⁶

But the matter had not become any clearer. On 13 October 1328 Malombra was given permission to travel personally to Bologna to resolve the issue. Such authorization by the Great Council was necessary because Malombra's formal position as *consultore in iure* required him not to absent himself from the city while he was discharging his mandate. Moreover, the council acquiesced in allowing Giovanni Marchesini, an expert lawyer and notary at the ducal court, to accompany him.⁵⁷ The matter was conducted with all the ambivalence

54. F. Zago (ed.), *Consiglio dei Dieci. Deliberazioni miste. Registri II-IV (1325-1335)* (Venice, 1968), p. 69 (III. 180).

55. Predelli, *Commemoriali*, Vol. II, p. 35 (III. 203).

56. Cessi and Sambin, *Senato Misti*, Vol. I, pp. 343, 360, 367, 369, 371, 387 (X. 214; XI. 1, 93, 122, 149; XII. 9). In Feb. 1329 there was a Venetian intervention on behalf of the bishop of Chioggia, who was one of the *sapientes* in the important consultation of 1324: *ibid.*, p. 378 (XI. 227). The case of Rolandino Belvisi, who took part in the consultations of 1323 and 1324, is of a different type; in 1328 he received pardon from Bologna, his native city, for his hostility to the Guelph party (Belvisi, however, stayed on in Venice); M. Caravale, 'Belvisi, Rolandino', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. VIII (Rome, 1966), p. 97.

57. ASV, *Maggior Consiglio*, *Brutus*, fol. 91v; Besta, *Riccardo Malombra*, p. 28.

that the Venetian state could muster: Malombra travelled on his own account, *pro suo facto*; Marchesini was also not travelling for public reasons but *suis expensis*; nevertheless, behind this private affair lay the entire weight of the Venetian state in its insistent efforts.

Malombra stayed for a long time in Bologna, until at least 1330 (he died later in Venice in 1334), but the tensions with the ecclesiastical circles were not finally resolved. He was aided by his jurist colleagues who intervened forcefully on his behalf, but the seriousness of his deeds was obviously deemed too difficult to forgive. The cardinal legate Bertrand du Poujet responded harshly, 'graviter' and 'fortiter' to the college of Bolognese doctors who 'supplicabant pro domino Richardo Malumbra qui erat damnandus de haeresi'.⁵⁸ We do not know with certainty whether the excommunication of Malombra was actually issued. Available testimony, beginning with that of his great contemporary jurists Jacopo Bottrigari and Baldo degli Ubaldi, is not very clear on that point and even though some authors suggest it took place, unequivocal evidence on the subject is still missing. Given the length of his stay in Bologna (in the lion's den, so to speak) it appears that in the end there was no definitive punishment against him. But he ran a high risk of incurring one.

* * *

In the course of the events examined here, the instruments of jurisprudence became allied with those of politics and economics, with an intensity which seems unparalleled in those circumstances. Jurisprudence joined the fray, but it was not used in a trivial manner. Rizzardo Malombra was much more than a skillful and unfortunate defence lawyer in a great conflict concerning commerce and he was much more than a scholar in the service of politics. His reflections especially (but not only) on questions of the Levant constituted a direct challenge to the growing interference of the ecclesiastical authorities in the political and economic life of the state.⁵⁹ Moreover, all of this happened at a time and in a cultural context in which political ideas and their terminology were being formed in close dialectic with juridical thought. Well beyond a defence of practical interests, the dispute with Avignon represents a significant element in determining basic traits of the Venetian state and its consciousness of its specific identity.

58. For these events see Besta, *Riccardo Malombra*, pp. 28-31.

59. Bellomo, 'Giuristi e inquisitori', p. 43.

Christians and Jews, Pagans and Muslims in the Thought of Christopher Columbus

Geo Pistarino

Whereas, Most Christian and very Noble and very Excellent and very Powerful Princes, King and Queen of the Spains and of the Islands of the Sea, our Lords: In the present year of 1492, after Your Highnesses have put an end to the war with the Moors, who were ruling over Europe, and have terminated the war in the most illustrious city of Granada, where this present year, on the second day of the month of January, I saw the Royal Standards of Your Highnesses placed by force of arms on the towers of the Alhambra, which is the fortress of the said city; and I saw the Moorish King leaving the gates of the city and kissing the Royal Hands of Your Highnesses and of the Prince, my Lord [. . .]

Thus wrote Christopher Columbus as he began the Journal of his first voyage, and he continued:

And Your Highnesses, as Catholic Christians and as Princes, lovers and promoters of the Holy Christian Faith, and enemies of the sect of Mohammed and of all idolatries and heresies, you decided to send me, Christóbal Colón, to the said parts of India [. . .] So, after having driven all the Jews out of all of your Kingdoms and Dominions, in the same month of January Your Highnesses commanded me that I should go, with a suitable fleet, to the said parts of India.¹

This article was translated by Judith Roumani.

1. 'Porque, cristianísimos y muy altos y muy excelentes y muy poderosos Príncipes, Re y e Reina de las Españas y de las islas de la mar, Nuestros Señores, este presente año de 1492, después de Vuestras Altezas aver dado fin a la guerra de los moros, que reinavan en Europa, y aver acabado la guerra en la muy grande ciudad de Granada, adonde este presente año, a dos días del mes de

The issue of world dominion, a question which Columbus confronted during his stay in Spain and perhaps earlier in Portugal, emerged clearly in his mind on the eve of his departure for his great enterprise and is reflected in the words quoted above from the introduction to the Journal of his first voyage. The worldwide unity of mankind would be ensured and guaranteed by religious faith, which was shaping the reign of the Spanish monarchs. This total oneness would be achieved through a single religious creed, Christianity. In Europe a step towards such unity had been reached through the defeat of the Moors of Granada, the conquest of their kingdom and the homage which their king had paid to the victorious Catholic Monarchs. The future admiral intentionally noted the fact that the Moors had reigned in Europe, and thus posited the Spain of his sovereigns, in a way, as representing all of Europe. After the fall of Constantinople, the theme of defence against and reconquest from Islam could be epitomized in the royal house of Castile, seen as the true heir to the banner of Christianity, waiting to move on to reconquer the Holy Land.

It must be emphasized that Columbus chose his words with great care. He contrasted the 'secta de Mahoma' (sect of Mohammed) with the 'sancta fe cristiana' (the Holy Christian Faith), the faith of all believers in the message of the Gospel: the Church of Rome and the Eastern Church. In this communal profession of faith, the Spanish monarchs were 'cathólicos cristianos' (Catholic Christians; one should note the order of the two terms): the primacy that Columbus was giving to the Holy See in Rome is obvious. Of the two branches of Christianity, it was the Roman Church which was destined to conquer the world and for which, therefore, the power to evangelize in the new lands was reserved, as Columbus wrote on another occasion. In the 1501 letter to his sovereigns, the importance of which has already been emphasized,² he mentioned 'nuestra santa fee católica' (our Holy

Enero, por fuerça de armas vide poner las vanderas reales de Vuestras Altezas en las torres de la Alfambra, que es la fortaleza de la dicha ciudad, y vide salir al rey moro a las puertas de la ciudad, y besar las reales manos de Vuestras Altezas y del Príncipe mi Señor [. . .]; Vuestras Altezas, como cathólicos cristianos y príncipes amadores de la sancta fe cristiana y acreçentadores d'ella y enemigos de la secta de Mahoma y de todas idolatrías y heregías, pensaron de enbiarme a mi, Cristóval Colón, a las dichas partidas de India.' And again, '[. . .] después de aver echado fuera todos los judíos de todos vuestros reinos y señorios, en el mismo mes de Enero, mandaron Vuestras Altezas a mi que con armada sufficiente me fuese a las dichas partidas de India' (*Cristoforo Colombo: Il giornale di bordo: Libro della prima navigazione e scoperta della India*, ed. P.E. Taviani and C. Varela [Rome, 1988]).

2. I. Luzzana Caraci, *Colombo vero e falso* (Genoa, 1989), pp. 123-4.

Catholic Faith), and requested, in the 1502 letter to Pope Alexander VI, that for his upcoming fourth voyage the superiors of the Benedictines, the Carthusians, the *Guglielmiti* (Williamites), the Friars Minor, and the Mendicants support him 'in such a holy and Catholic cause and enterprise').³

Columbus's vision, reflected in the prologue to the Journal of the first voyage, was a substantially Manichean vision of darkness and light. The destiny of the world lay at stake in the great encounter between Christianity, of which the Catholic Monarchs were the standard-bearers, and the 'secta de Mahoma'. The overseas expedition would constitute a winning move in the relentless struggle. Its antecedents, which had laid the groundwork for it, were two events which, in Columbus's view, owed their origin to the religious issue, transferred to the field of violent action. These were the defeat of the Moors of Granada and the expulsion of the Jews from Spanish territory. There was, however, a significant difference between these two events, both in the historical development and in the implicit judgement of the future admiral: for the Moors in the short term it was a question of having lost a war, but of being able to remain in the territory, though under difficult conditions; for the Jews, an entire people was being sent away, without military action or defeat, from the land which it had, according to a centuries-long tradition, viewed emotionally as its own home: *Sepharad*, where the Jews had lived without knowing 'the humiliation of repressive and marginalizing laws' and had been able 'to participate actively in the political, economic, social, and cultural life of the country which hosted them and which they had come to feel as a *terra felice*.'⁴

In Columbus's evaluation, too, one gets a glimpse of the distinction, though he does not openly make any comparison. The Moors belong to the 'secta' of Mohammed, and the future admiral's view of them seems implicitly negative, as it would be towards an enemy who was to be defeated and destroyed. The Jews do not merit a similar moral condemnation or a similar fate; Columbus limits himself to recording the traumatic event of their expulsion from the realms of the Catholic Monarchs, without any negative qualification of their religion, as there is for the Moors. In Columbus there is no trace of anti-Semitism or

3. 'en tan Sancta y Cathólica negoçiación y empresa'; see *Cristóbal Colón: Textos y documentos completos: Relaciones de viajes, cartas y memoriales*, ed. C. Varela and J. Gil (Madrid, 1994).

4. G.N. Zazzu, *Il volo del grifo* (Genoa, 1991), pp. 138-9.

even any condemnation of the Jewish faith in relation to the Catholic religion. Moreover, his very silence builds up a sort of dramatic contrast. The Moorish king bends humbly to kiss the hand of his conquerors, but his subjects, despite being defeated, are not obliged to take the road of exile. The Jews are summarily cast out by the Spanish sovereigns, zealous for their own Catholic faith, but Columbus does not indicate the rationale behind this measure: the religious motive emerges clearly from the silence.

For Christopher Columbus, the Jews are participants in his own search for humanity and he recalls their biblical history as a model, a precedent, an admonitory example. This is evident when, under the date of 23 September, the future admiral recalls the crossing of the Red Sea: 'The high sea was very necessary for me, [a sign] which had not appeared except in the time of the Jews when they left Egypt [and complained] against Moses, who took them out of captivity'. And it is certainly a positive judgement when, during his third voyage, he compares his adventures, both dramatic and tormented, to the odyssey of the Jewish people: 'When one considers the things that happened there, one may say that they were just like the things that happened to the people of Israel'.⁵

All this is part of the history of mankind which Columbus knew well. But his reaching the other side of the Ocean and his discovery of peoples, totally ignorant of the religions known by Christians, confused the Columbian picture. It was not easy to find a place for peoples the Bible did not even mention: in the design of human history, guided by Divine Providence, Columbus tried to absorb them into his own concept of humanity by emphasizing their spiritual and moral qualities and their good character: these being irrefutable signs that such peoples were predisposed to receive the words of the Gospel. He certainly must have asked himself immediately how to place these 'Indios' in the framework of the great conflict between the two camps which were vying for the world: Christianity and Islam.

Above all, how could one justify the option? Columbus chose the path of agnosticism, thereby eliminating the problem. Though he recognized that these peoples had a belief in a god, for Columbus they did not have any religion: they were not even pagans or idolaters, like

5. 'Así que muy neçessario me fue la mar alta, que no pareció salvo el tiempo de los judíos quando salieron de Egipto contra Moisés, que los sacava del captiverio [. . .]; si se mirasen las cosas que acá an passado, se podría dezir como y tanto como del pueblo de Israel'. See n. 3 above.

other people in the world from he came, for example, the people of sub-equatorial Africa. Among the Indians Columbus did not find any religious practice organized into a system, as in paganism, idolatry, and Islam. The religion of the 'Indios' was for him a vague belief lacking in themes or rather structural points of reference, so much so that the Indians were ready to welcome the foreigners promptly as gods descended from heaven, without any doctrinal reference, merely by force of a religious tradition. These people, foreign to the biblical cycle, might easily be won over to the cause of Christianity. For this purpose, and in testimony of this, Columbus adopted in his signature his famous cryptogrammic monogram, alluding to the Trinity and the Incarnation, the basic dogmas of Christianity.⁶

Sincerity of feeling was for the admiral the sign of predisposition to the Christian faith. Columbus himself wrote this on 16 October 1492, when he met with the natives from the other side of the sea: 'I do not detect in them any religion and I believe that they would become Christians very quickly because they understand very well'.⁷ There remains some doubt, though, about the precise meaning that Columbus was attributing to the word 'entender' (understanding): did he mean intellectual ability? An expression of feeling? Or both at the same time?

He had hardly made contact with the new land — about which he had no doubt of their being Cathay — when Columbus spontaneously applied a rigorous mental classification. On one side were located the local Indians who, on the basis of his geographic convictions, he classified generically and generally as 'Indios', like the natives of the fabled land of Asia. On the other side, as stated in the Journal of 1 November, were the men who had arrived with him from the Old World, and whom he designated collectively as 'los Cristianos', using religious faith as the common denominator for persons of different nationalities, though using the term 'los Españoles' when he was discussing individuals of that specific territorial and national origin.

Whom Columbus was referring to under the term 'cristianos' emerges clearly from a passage in the Journal of 27 November: all 'cristiandad' (Christendom) might do business in the New World, — 'how much more so Spain',⁸ — but Their Highnesses should not allow

6. G. Pistarino, *Cristoforo Colombo: l'enigma del criptogramma* (Genoa, 1990); id., 'Cristoforo Colombo: Ambasciatore della Trinità', *Boletín argentino de historia de Europa*, 2 (1991), 47-76; id., 'Cristoforo Colombo: Tempo dello Spirito e tempo di comando', *Medievo: Saggi e rassegne*, 17 (1992), 9-42.

7. 'No le cognozco secta ninguna y creo que muy presto se tornarían cristianos, porque ellos son de muy buen entender'.

8. 'quanto más la España'.

that in that land 'any foreigner set foot or trade except for Catholic Christians'.⁹ Not only the work of spreading the Gospel, but also the lands themselves, ought to be reserved for Catholicism. A 'buen cristiano' (good Christian), the only kind allowed overseas, was, for the admiral, one faithful to the Church of Rome. The fourth voyage, in fact, as he himself wrote to Pope Alexander VI, 'will be of great benefit to the Christian religion', since it was to be dedicated to 'such a holy and Catholic enterprise'.¹⁰

While 'los Cristianos' and 'los Españoles' are clearly distinguished by their religious faith and their political and territorial origin, 'los Indios' remain suspended in a sort of unspecified, vague and arbitrary identity, in which Columbus's error of geographic location spilled over to include the identity of the people living in the territory he had discovered: the West Indies.

Thus, based on his first impressions, Columbus believed that the indigenous people of the lands beyond the Ocean Sea were not even idolators: they simply did not have any religion. 'These people', he wrote on 12 November, 'have no religious beliefs, nor are they idolaters. They are very gentle and do not know what evil is; nor do they kill others, nor steal [. . .] And they are credulous and aware that there is a God in heaven and convinced that we come from the heavens; and they say very quickly any prayer that we tell them to say, and they make the sign of the cross'.¹¹

Their belief that he and his men were deities, descended from heaven, confirmed, for Columbus, the lack of both a revealed religion and of any theogony in the culture of the indigenous people, despite their belief in a god in heaven. Although Columbus had known the blacks of Guinea and had made repeated reference to them in his writings, he did not mention them here even for purposes of comparison.

A great task awaited the king and queen of Spain with regard to the newly-discovered peoples: 'Your Highnesses ought to resolve to make them Christians: for I believe that if you begin, in a short time you will

9. 'trate ni faga pie ningund estranero, salvo cathólicos cristianos'.

10. 'será grande provecho de la religión cristiana'; 'tan Sancta y Cathólica negociación'.

11. 'Esta gente no tiene secta ninguna ni son idólatras, salvo muy mansos y sin saber qué sea mal ni matar a otros ni prender [. . .], y crédulos y cognoscedores que ay Dios en el çielo, e firmas que nosotros avemos venido del çielo, e muy prestos a cualquier oraçión que nos les digamos que digan y hazen el señal de la Cruz'.

end up having converted to our Holy Faith a multitude of peoples',¹² as Columbus wrote on 12 November. And on 27 November he insisted: 'Efforts will be made to make all these peoples Christian, because it will be done easily, since they have no false religion nor are they idolaters'. Columbus was again using the word 'secta', which appeared before in his writing and which Paolo Emilio Taviani understands as meaning 'heresy' or even 'idolatry'. My own view is that Columbus uses the word in several senses: here the emphasis is on 'faction', 'factionalism' in the sense of an erroneous fundamentalist doctrine, as emerges in another passage of our subject's writings, dated 16 December, where he speaks of the 'Indios' of Isla Española (Hispaniola) as 'plump and brave [. . .] and of very sweet speech and without false religion'.¹³

As Columbus gradually learned more about the new lands, he could speak about them with more precision. Thus after two months on the islands across the sea he began to sense that he had not reached Cathay and that the 'Indios', as he had called the aborigines, were different from the 'people of the Grand Khan'¹⁴ who lived in Caniba, 'a land which lies behind this Hispaniola',¹⁵ and thus 'close to this place',¹⁶ but whom he could no more define, either by race, language, or religion (11 December). He notes, however, that that unknown world was inhabited by several races, as he was informed by the Indians themselves. The latter were convinced that 'the Christians were not from Caniba, but rather were from the heavens'.¹⁷

One factor of maximum importance, which would be of tremendous help in converting the indigenous people and assimilating them into the 'culture' of the 'Cristianos', was knowledge of each other's language. Columbus was aware of the problem. He had confronted it when he had brought along from Spain Luis de Torres, a Jew converted to Catholicism, in the conviction that Hebrew would be a universal language. He made a broad distinction, though, between the language

12. 'Deben Vuestras Altezas determinarse a los hazer cristianos, que creo que, si comiençan, en poco tiempo acabarán de los aver convertido a nuestra sancta fe multitud de pueblos'; '[. . .] se trabajará de hazer todos estos pueblos cristianos, porque de ligero se hará, porque ellos no tienen secta ninguna ni son idólatras'.

13. 'que eran gordos y valientes . . . y de muy dulce conversación, sin secta'.

14. 'gente del Gran Can'.

15. 'terra qu'es aquí detrás d'esta Española'.

16. 'aquí muy vezino'.

17. 'los cristianos no eran de Caniba, mas antes eran del cielo' (13 December).

and race or religious belief. Thus he wrote, on 2 November: 'Luis de Torres [. . .] had been a Jew and knew, he says, Hebrew and Chaldean and even some Arabic'.¹⁸ On 6 November, referring to the importance of knowing the language of the natives in order to bring about their conversion, he wrote: 'Given devout religious persons thoroughly knowing the language that they use, soon all of them would become Christian'.¹⁹

Columbus never referred to the possibility of any future mixing of races nor, in his *Journal of the first voyage*, did he refer to connubial relationships between 'Indios' and 'Cristianos'. On 12 November, though, he did maintain that it would be a good idea to encourage marriages among the Indians themselves; here there are plenty of references to prior experiences in Portuguese Guinea:

Yesterday there came alongside the ship a canoe with six young men in it, and when five of them entered the ship, I ordered them detained and I am bringing them. And later I sent men to a house which is west of the river, and they brought seven heads of women, counting young ones and adults, and three children. I did this so that the men would behave better in Spain, having women from their country, than without them. Because many other times it has happened that, when men have been brought from Guinea to Portugal so that they learn the language, after, when they returned and the Portuguese thought that they could make good use of them in their own country, because of the good treatment and the gifts that they gave them, when they got to land they never appeared. Others did not do it this way. Having their women, they have a desire to carry out the business they are charged with. And also these women will teach our men much of their language, which is identical in all of these islands of India, and they all understand one another and go to all the islands in their canoes. This is not so in Guinea, where there are a thousand kinds of language and one does not understand the other.²⁰

18. 'Luis de Torres [. . .] avía sido judío, y sabía diz que ebraico y caldeo y aun algo arávigo'.

19. 'sabiendo la lengua dispuesta suya, personas devotas religiosas, luego todos se tornarían cristianos'.

20. 'Así que ayer vino a bordo de la nao una almadía con seis mançebos, y los cinco entraron en la nao; estos mandé detener e los traigo. Y después enbié a una casa que es de la parte del rio del Poniente, y truxeron siete cabeças de mugeres entre chicas e grandes y tres niños. Esto hize porque mejor se comportan los hombres

Columbus's action and his justification of it do appear somewhat basic: the expression 'cabeças de mugeres' (heads of women) is highly reminiscent of the *capita* of slaves, a term employed in Western European dealings. For Columbus, reflecting the social sensibilities of his time, these indigenous people of the Indies fell into the lowest of social strata, so much so that they might well constitute a major source of slaves. And slaves, as is well known, in medieval economic opinion formed part of the same category of possessions as domestic animals.

Nevertheless, we should keep in mind an essential difference. The papal bulls, concerning Portuguese expansion in Africa, consider African infidels to be enemies of the name of Christ and equal to Saracens, so that 'in the Portuguese bulls authorization was given to subject the African infidels to slavery and to expropriate their possessions. None of this was repeated in the bulls granted to Spain, and the spirit of crusade was replaced [. . .] by the missionary spirit'.²¹ Perhaps because the theme of the slave trade was on the admiral's mind during the first crossing, as well as the idea that it would be relatively easy to convert the Indians, he was led to place great emphasis on the gentleness of the people across the Ocean.

He took up the motif again on 15 February 1493 when, during his return journey, he communicated the results of the expedition to Luis de Santángel: those people 'knew no sect or idolatry, but all believe that power and good are in heaven'.²² Columbus could not connect them culturally to any of the peoples with which we know he was familiar through personal experience: the Greek Orthodox due to his journey or journeys to Chios in the Archipelago, the Muslims of North Africa due

en España aviendo mugeres de su tierra que sin ellas, porque ya otras muchas vezes se acaesçió traer hombres de Guinea para que deprendiesien la lengua en Portugal, y después que bolvían y pensaban de se aprovechar d'ellos en su tierra por la buena compañía que le avían hecho y dádibas que se les avían dado, en llegando en tierra jamás pareçía<n> otros, no lo hazían así. Así que, teniendo sus mugeres, ternán gana de negoçiar lo que se les encargare y también estas mugeres mucho enseñarán a los nuestros su lengua, la cual es toda una en todas estas islas de India, y todos se entienden y todas las andan con sus almadías, lo que no han en Guinea, adonde es mill maneras de lenguas que la una no entiende la otra' (p. 147).

21. A. Baragona, 'La polemica storiografica sulle bolle alessandrina relative alle grandi scoperte', in *Miscellanea di storia delle esplorazioni*, Vol. II (Genoa, 1977), pp. 46-7.

22. 'no conocían ninguna seta ni idolatria, salvo que todos creen que las fuerças y el bien es en cielo'.

to his trip to Tunis (as well as other contacts with the Moors of Spain and Granada), the pagans and idolators of the Gulf of Guinea and sub-equatorial Africa during his voyage or voyages to Mina de Ouro.

As a result of his experience of diverse kinds of civilization, the admiral seemed convinced that good government ('el buen governo') would be the one underwritten by the laws of Spain ('leyes de España'); the very fact that he uses this expression is remarkable as a symptom of Spanish juridical unity. Yet Columbus was careful to describe his sovereigns as King and Queen of Castile in the same text of 1496, and in the 'Memorial de la Mejorada' of 1497, as King and Queen of Castile and Aragon.²³ There was thus — and Columbus seems aware and convinced of it — a way of life which was common to all of Spain, and which saw itself as representing the vanguard of civilization. It saw Spain itself as the pole for the transition from the second to the third Joachimian age, as Columbus himself said several times: 'Abbot Joachim the Calabrian [Abbot Joachim of Fiore] said that it was from Spain that the one who would rebuild the House of Mount Zion must come'.²⁴

Thus in the face of a total absence of cultural personality (which Columbus essentially identified with an absence of religious faith) in these people beyond the Ocean and facing the question of why Divine Providence in its obscure ways should have designated him for such an enterprise, Christopher Columbus convinced himself that he had been predestined for the mission of 'Bearer of Christ', the 'Messenger of the Trinity' for the new lands which had not known the word of the Bible.²⁵

The people of the new lands who, Columbus believed, lacked religious structures and true religious faith (with the exception perhaps of their belief in a god in heaven) made up the innumerable 'pueblos infinitos' (infinite peoples) which could easily be brought around to the true religion. Be that as it may, they could easily form a large reserve of slaves who, as Columbus was aware, were widely used in Castile, Aragon, Portugal, Italy, Sicily, the islands dominated by Portugal and

23. 'el Rey y la Reina de Castilla'; 'el Rey y la Reina de Castilla e de Aragón'.

24. 'El abad Joahachin Calabrés [Abbot Joachim of Fiore] diso que havia de salir de España quien havia de redificar la casa del Monte Sión'. See also n. 3 above.

25. G. Pistarino, 'Cristoforo Colombo: Scoperta, mistero e mito', *Atti dell'Accademia Ligure di scienze e lettere*, Vol. 42 (1989-90), 23-32; id., 'L'enigma del criptogramma di Cristoforo Colombo', *Columbus* 92, Vol. VI, 9 (1990), 25-32; id., 'Il Messaggero della Trinità (C. Colombo)', in *Convegno Internazionale dello Zonta Club di Savona-area* (Savona, 1992), pp. 17-44.

Aragon, and the Canary Islands. There was considerable slave traffic in the Cape Verde Islands, and also in Guinea.

Spain had a great mission, which she was already fulfilling, and which responded to a rhetorical question which the admiral posed: 'I ask anyone, who has read the histories of the Greeks and the Romans, whether they expanded their domains with such ease as now Your Highness has expanded that of Spain with the Indies'.²⁶ Thus, when he considered the need to colonize those lands and the unavoidable problem of how to populate them arose, with the consequent social and juridical structure, the admiral simply imagined that the Hispanic-Castilian model in its most orthodox Christian form could be transplanted, without any possible space for the Jewish or Islamic Moorish elements which existed or had existed in Spain (and were just as much part of its development and the tone of its civilization). Neither did Columbus consider either the models of atavistic life, the needs or aspirations of the indigenous population across the Ocean. The admiral's conviction of the superiority of the European-Hispanic-Castilian model was absolute, as emerges clearly in his 'Memorial a los Reyes sobre la población de las Indias', which, I believe, was written in preparation for his fourth voyage (since it was signed with the formula 'Christo Ferens', which Columbus adopted between 1501 and 1502).

Seeing his own mission of 'Bearer of Christ' and 'Messenger of the Trinity' to the people beyond the Ocean as part of the unitary design of world history, according to the purposes of Providence, as it worked through Spain, Christopher Columbus reached the conclusion that his enterprise formed part of the divine plan for unifying humanity under the sign of Christianity (or rather, Catholicism): a preliminary phase of this was the struggle against the 'secta de Mahoma' to free the Holy Land. The enormous quantity of money required for conducting crusades, if they were to be successful, would be supplied by the gold from across the Ocean. This was the illusion for which, as Columbus himself recognized, on his second and third voyages, he had with him, when arriving at Hispaniola, '[. . .] many people for the conquest [. . .], each saying that he would be very useful at it and better than anyone else, and it was the opposite, as it turned out afterwards, for they only came in the belief that gold, which was said to be there, and spices

26. 'Digo que me respondan quien leyó las historias de griegos y de romanos, si con toda poca cosa ensancharon su señorío tan grandemente, como agora hizo Vuestra Alteza aquel de la España con las Indias'; see n. 3 above.

could be taken by the shovelful [. . .], and they did not think that, even if there were gold, it would be in mines'.²⁷

Columbus's original emphasis on the presence of gold in great quantities in the lands on the other side of the Ocean, appealing both to the more noble ambitions of human history and to the mundane thirst for individual and collective enrichment, led rapidly to moral and material damage. One should also take into account his allusion to the immigration at that time of 'muchos estrangeros y naturales', often undesirables, and the razzias carried out by 'infideles sobre los christianos'. Perhaps this refers to raids by Islamic corsairs or pirates from the western part of North Africa, with whom Columbus was to become acquainted at first hand during his fourth voyage, as he made for Arzila on the Moroccan coast, because it was being attacked by Moors. In this respect it may be significant that in the report of his third voyage Columbus remembered the Portuguese conquests of Ceuta (1414 and 1471), Tangiers (1437 and 1471), Alcazar (1458), Arzila (1471) and the ceaseless Christian war against the Muslims. Might the Admiral of the Ocean Sea have feared a threat from Islam even in the 'Otro Mundo Nuevo'?²⁸

It is worthwhile to remember that expeditions to the New World began in 1495 independently of Columbus's voyages and that in 1513 Piri Re'is attests in his letter that Ottoman civilization was aware of Christopher Columbus's discoveries.²⁹ The hypothesis that the admiral connected the attacks during the third voyage to the revolt of Francisco Roldán, at the settlement on Hispaniola, and to the attitude of those whom he defines as the 'bad Christians', is a much more remote one.³⁰

A distinction should still be made between the intellectual factor and the political aspect in Columbus's concept of relations between

27. 'mucha gente para la conquista [. . .] diciendo ellos que servían en ello muy bien y mejor que nadie, y era el revés, según después se a visto, porque no venían salvo con creencia que el oro, que se dezía que se hallava, y espeçierias, era a coger con la pala [. . .] e no pensavan que, bien que oviese oro, que seria en minas'; see n. 3 above.

28. L. Balleto, 'Otro Mundo Nuevo', in *La Storia dei Genovesi* (Genoa, 1989), Vol. IX, pp. 15-28.

29. G. Pitarino, 'Tra la "Mappa per i sette mari" ed il "Libro della Marina" di Piri Reis', *Anuario de estudios medievales*, 20 (1990), 297-315; *XIV-XVIII Yuzyl Portolan ve Deniz Haritalari — Portolani e carte nautiche XIV-XVIII secolo. Dalle collezioni del Museo Correr, Venezia, Museo del Topkapı, Istanbul* (Istanbul, 1994), pp. 56-7.

30. Luzzana Caraci, *Colombo vero e falso*, pp. 380-81.

Christianity, — specifically Catholicism — the Muslim world, and the pagan one. The Moors were the great enemy, and a phrase from the famous letter of late 1500 or early 1501 to Doña Juana de Torres, on his infelicitous return from his third voyage, seems significant: 'If I had robbed the Indies and the surrounding lands, as is now rumoured, from the altar of Saint Peter and given them to the Moors, they could not consider me a greater enemy in Spain [than they do now]'.³¹ Christopher Columbus still had a great respect for Arab culture, with which he lived in close contact during his time in Cordoba: 'I have had dealings and conversation with educated people, both clerics and lay people, Latins and Greeks, Jews and Moors, and with many others of other sects'.³² Here the term 'seta' obviously indicates not only religious differences, but also a different cultural tradition, race, and geographical setting. Above all, one notes the juxtapositions made in his discourse: Greeks and Romans, Moors and Jews: in other words, the perspective of classicism, predominant in Italy and in the Near East, and the Islamic-Jewish culture which had existed in medieval Spain.

This sentence from the 1501 letter to the Catholic Monarchs, which also, significantly, appears in the *Libro de las profecías* (Book of prophecies) and the importance of which has already been pointed out by Ilaria Luzzana Caraci,³³ is a confession of cultural identity, of a syncretism going beyond political and religious expediency. It does not, however, annul Columbus's plan — which he repeated to Pope Alexander VI in 1502 — to collect gold for the purpose of organizing armed forces for the restoration 'de la Casa Sancta a la Sancta Iglesia' (of the Holy Abode to the Holy Church). Columbus's attitude contains something more, representing the point of arrival of a long spiritual journey. He wrote this himself in his 1501 missive to his sovereigns: 'I say that the Holy Spirit prevails among Christians, Jews, Moors and in all others of all sects, and not only among the learned, but more so among the ignorant people'.³⁴ Above and beyond political imperatives is a spiritual inclusiveness which embraces humanity at all levels.

31. 'Si yo robara las Indias e tierra che ianfaze en ello, de que agora es la fabla, del altar de San Pedro, y las diera a los Moros, no pudieran en España amostrarme mayor enemiga'.

32. 'Trauto y conversación he tenido con gente sabia, hecclesiásticos y seglares, latinos y griegos, judíos y moros y con otros muchos de otras setas'.

33. Luzzana Caraci, *Colombo vero e falso*, pp. 123-4.

34. 'Digo que el Espiritu Santo obra en cristianos, judíos, moros y en todos otros de toda seta, y non solamente en los sabios, más en los inorantes'.

Freedom and Servitude in Cyprus and Rhodes: An Assize Dating from 1396

Jean Richard

The existence of an unpublished assize issued by King James I of Lusignan was pointed out in 1925 by G. Recoura, who found it in a manuscript of the *Livre des assises de la Haute Cour* in the collection of the Bodleian Library at Oxford.¹ This manuscript, which had belonged to Francesco Attar, was written in the sixteenth century;² it begins with the table of contents of the *Livre de Jean d'Ibelin*, and it is after this table that the text of this assize can be found. It is dated 1 January 1395 — which, due to the custom in Cyprus of beginning the year on 1 March, brings us to 1 January 1396.³

The text seems to have been corrupted to some extent, probably because the copyist was not familiar with the French spoken in Cyprus in the fourteenth century. It is preceded by a heading which reads:

C'est la nouvelle assize qui a esté faicte par l'octroi et la volonté d'au [for 'dou'] très excelens et très puissant roy de Jerusalem et de Chipre et d'Ermenie monseigneur Jaque de Lesinan, laquelle assize et ordenement a esté commencié de ce present moys de janvier, l'an mil IIIcXCV de Crist.

This article was translated by Judith Roumani.

1. G. Recoura, 'Notes sur six manuscrits ou peu connus des Assises de Jérusalem', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire publiés par l'Ecole française de Rome*, 42 (1925), pp. 147-8.
2. Ms. Seldon 3457 (formerly supra 69). M. Edbury has made a study of this manuscript, and we refer to his study in anticipation.
3. Fols. 13v-14v.

An instruction follows, enjoining the receivers, who are not designated here, to give publicity to the text:

Sachent que nous et nos hommes avons esté aparseus d'aucune chose ou malice qui ce fait a nostre païs et est a mermeme[n]t des sers de nostre royaume; et pour remedier et abatre ladite malice, nous et nos hommes avons establi l'assize nouvelle, laquelle voullons qu'elle soit seue et criée par nostre banc par tout nostre royaume. Et pour ce vous mandons entrecluze as presentes en manière de criée, et vous mandons que vous deves faire crier ladite criée prestement as places usées de nostre cité de Nicossie. A Nicossie, le premier jour de janvier.

We are fairly familiar with the custom of having the 'bans et ordenemens' of the kings of Cyprus proclaimed, due to the insertion at the end of the *Livre des assises des bourgeois* of a series of writs issued mainly by King Henry II and made public by the viscounts of Nicosia.⁴ The 'cri' takes the following form: 'Hoyés le banq de Dieu et de monseigneur le roi Hugue, que Dieu mainteigne'. The question arises as to whether the document quoted was sent to the viscount of Nicosia, as was probably the case, while other copies were sent simultaneously to other *baillis* of the realm.⁵ This is of some importance, for the text itself of the assize might in this case have been drafted in another way; the one which was sent 'entreclos' (namely, attached to the order, which resembled a sealed letter) to the viscount of Nicosia requiring that the persons concerned make themselves known to commissioners in Nicosia, while other locations might have been designated for those residing in other districts (*bailliages*). If this were the case, the original version would have included more general wording.

The text which we possess has neither a preamble nor signs of validation. It consists of a series of articles which the officer responsible for the 'criée' was supposed to read. It reads as follows:

4. The text of these proclamations was published by Count Beugnot, *Assises de Jérusalem (Recueil des historiens des Croisades: Lois)*, Vol. 2 (1843), pp. 355-79; but the publisher combined two texts taken from two different versions. The older version, that of the Munich manuscript dated 1344, has been published by E.H. Kausler, *Les livres des assises et des usages du reiaume de Jerusalem*, Vol. 1 (the only one which appeared), pp. 352-86, under the title 'les ordenemens de la court du vesconte'; the Venice manuscript version, which is later than the reign of Peter I, is the only one which gives the formulas for proclamation.
5. This is the implication of the phrase 'crier en nostre cité de Nicossie'.

Premierement que de ci en avant toutes les serves qui se mariront avec hommes frans sans le co[n]gié et l'otroy dou roy monseigneur et des seigneurs des serves, que les enfans qui seront nés puis ledit mariage doivent estre [tenus] toux pour sers au renq de leur meres serves, et celui qui acusera ledit mariage doit avoir du seigneur [de] la serve, pour chascun enfant, CXXV besans.⁶

Et se le mariage de la serve se feray a honme franc par le congié du seigneur de la serve sans l'otroy et commandement du roy monseigneur, que les enfans qui seront nés apres dudit mariage doivent estre cherues [read 'thenus'?] tous pour sers au renc de leur mere serve, et celui qui acongera doit avoir du seigneur de la serve, pour chascun enfant, CXXV besans.

Et se le mariage de la serve se fray a homme franc avec l'otroy et commandement dou roy monseigneur et avec la volonté du seigneur de la serve, les enfans qui seront ney puis ledit mariage doivent estre frans.

Et se le franguomate⁷ et le seigneur de la serve s'acordent que le mariage ce face par ensi que l'enfans [read 'li enfans'] qui seront nés puis ledit mariage soient sers au renc de leur mere serve, faire le puet par la maniere dessus ditte.

Encores que de cy en avant tous les sers qui ce costeront a femmes franzes, et feront enfans sans mariage, lesdis enfans doivent estre frans; ce est entendu trovant par enquête que le serf et la fanne france conversent ensemble et que voix ou fame soit de laditte conversation, que les enfans qui sont fais ou dit conversation doivent estre sers, et qui les acusera doit avoir du seigneur du serf, pour chascun enfant, CXXV besans.

Encores que de ci en avant, que chacune personne france qui se treut⁸ o jour marié avec femme serve ce peuvent presenter a Nicossie, lui et sa femme et ses enfans qu'il a o jour, en

6. The abbreviation which follows the Roman numeral is difficult to decipher; but it resembles the one used for the word 'besant' in accounting documents. Moreover, the amount that the informer should receive is close to the amount appearing in the assize of escaped villeins and villein women ('des vilains et vileines fuitices') as representing damages provided for in case of the loss of a serf.

7. In Cyprus freemen were called 'francomates'.

8. 'Se treut' — 'se trouve'.

presenze des ordenés,⁹ pour escrire lor noms et lor aage en leur presence, dedens le terme de trois moys qui se doit definir par tout mars venant de III^CXCVI de Crist.¹⁰

Et ce, ledit terme passé et ne seront présentés a estre escriis par la maniere surdite, que leur enfant peussent estre et demorer sers du seigneur de la serve, et celui qui acusera lesdis enfans doit avoir du seigneur de la serve, pour chascun enfant, CXXV besans.

Encore toutes les femmes frances qui ont des enfans nés en avoultrie¹¹ avec sers ce doivent presenter, elles et leur enfans qui se trouvant [read 'trouveront'] aujourdui de ladite condision, s'est assavoir nés en adultere, par devant desdis ordenés à Nicossie, dedens ledit terme de troys moys qui doit definir par tout mars de III^CXCVI de Crist pour atacher¹² leur noms et leur aage. Et passant ledit terme, tous ceux qui ne seront presens devant les ordenés d'estre escriis par la maniere surdicte, tous leur enfans doivent estre sers du seigneur du serf, et celui qui acusera telle maniere d'enfans doyt avoir du seigneur du serf qui aura gaigné lesdis enfans, pour chascun enfant, CXXV besans.

The 1396 assize expresses part of a preoccupation found in Cyprus throughout the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries: the fear of the diminution of the population of serfs or *parèques*, who were the only ones subject to all the constraints of the seignorial system. They had to pay a poll tax (*chevage*), to give to the lord a third of the products of the *stasis* (the serf's tenure), and to provide labour for maintaining the lord's demesne or to pay an *apaut* which constituted the acquittal of this last obligation.¹³ One finds that a certain monastery, when it did not have the serf labour available, was obliged to let out its lands

9. The 'ordenés' are those who have been ordered to received these declarations.

10. This is a common expression in Cypriot French: 'qui se doit definir', 'which will expire' at the end of the next month of March, year of the Incarnation 1396.

11. 'Avoultrie' — 'adultere'.

12. 'Attacher' is a commonly used expression in royal orders, where it means 'to inscribe in an edict or list'.

13. See G. Grivaud, 'Florio Bustron et les institutions franco-byzantines afférentes au régime agraire de Chypre à l'époque vénitienne', *Meletai kai Ypomnēmata*, 2 (1992), 531-98.

for a return which was obviously less than it would otherwise have made.¹⁴

This preoccupation was already reason for an assize issued by King Henry II. This assize was aimed specifically at the escape ('fuite') of 'parèques' who would take employment as wage-earning workers on property which did not belong to their lords.¹⁵ This 'assise des vilains et des vileines fuitices' which the king and his men had issued at the same time as others concerning lost birds of prey, dogs and horses, slaves of both sexes and freemen,¹⁶ as well as cattle thieves, seems to date from late 1311 or early 1312; it was thus of limited duration (from March 1312 to 28 February 1317). But it seems to have been renewed at the time of King Hugh IV, as shown by the heading which precedes it in the Venice manuscript and which corresponds to the subject-matter of the king's order which follows it (16 March 1355);¹⁷ this order gives the list of persons 'ordenés' in each 'diossé' (*bailliage*) to receive denunciations concerning fugitive serfs.¹⁸ The 'parèques' in question had to be sent back to their masters while avoiding damage to the interests of their current employers, who might otherwise find themselves suddenly deprived of their farm workers. For this reason returning serfs to their legitimate masters during the sowing season (April to June) or the harvest season (September to October) was not allowed; the employers' good was not abused: the order provided that

14. See the authorization which the Pope gave in 1338 to the Cistercians of Saint Theodore to lease out a domain for lack of 'parèques' to cultivate it. J. Richard, 'The Cistercians in Cyprus', in M. Gervers (ed.), *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians* (New York, 1992), p. 204.

15. It was permitted for a serf to settle on land outside his village, where he would nevertheless remain registered in the registry (*prahtico*) as an 'estageant'.

16. These four assizes form an ensemble, published by Beugnot in *Assises de Jérusalem*, pp. 373-7. The one on 'vileins et vileines' appears on p. 375.

17. This is confirmed by the presence of Simon de Montolif, who in 1360 was the treasurer (*chambrier*) of Cyprus (and thus responsible for the royal finances) in the premise to the 'banc qui se doit crier par toutes les baillies qui sont sous le poyer dou bailly de la seignourie, mesire Simon de Montholif' (Beugnot, *Assises*, pp. 377-8).

18. They were the four districts of Paphos, Limassol, Famagusta and the 'Chief' (in Karpasos), as well as the viscounty of Nicosia, each of them being associated with a knight (one of whom was the *rais* of Famagusta), and they probably represented the liegemen. The 1312 assize only mentioned four 'places'. My interpretation that the 1312 assize, which apparently became an essential text added to the *Assises*, was probably renewed in 1355, seems to solve the problem raised by Beugnot (see his note, pp. 373-4).

the serfs' owners had to indemnify the employers. The assize also included a few measures aimed at allowing some control over workers who moved away at the time of agricultural tasks, by requiring freemen and freed slaves ('les batiés') to carry documents on them showing that all was in order.¹⁹ A fine of up to 200 besants could be imposed on those who employed them without checking on their status as fugitive serfs. It seems that the need for manpower led some lords to close their eyes to whether or not those whom they hired could legally work and, moreover, that it was normal for free agricultural workers to be available.²⁰ This could only have encouraged the efforts of serfs who used this procedure to avoid their servile obligations.

The 1396 assize focuses on the case of children born of serf women when their fathers were free men. A 1297 royal *ordonnance* had previously stipulated that no one was allowed to marry a female serf of the king without his permission, on pain of being reduced to serfdom himself.²¹ The 1396 assize extended this prohibition to the female serfs of seignorial domains by providing that, if a marriage took place without the king's permission, even if the female serf's lord was in agreement, the children born of the marriage would be serfs. The marriage of a female serf with a free man normally led to the children being recognized as 'francomate'.

The need for royal authorization allowed the two requirements of maintaining the serf work-force and of respect for the rule *proles sequitur ventrum*, by virtue of which the children of free women were free and those of female serfs were serfs, to be reconciled. At the same time, it was admitted that children were to follow in the status of their father unless there was an explicit convention to the contrary, to which this assize refers. But the king's authorization, according to the examples which we have, resembles an act of granting freedom and allowed the kings to gain financial advantage. Thus, in 1468-69 James II

19. They were letters which had to bear the seal of the viscount or the local bailiff. 'Batiés' are freed slaves, who were granted freedom by christening; see Beugnot, *Assises*, Vol. 2, pp. 220-33.

20. The accounts of Psimolofos include employment of 'soldati' (who seemed however to be pressed into service upon payment of the poll tax): J. Richard, 'Le casal de Psimolofos et la vie rurale en Chypre au XIV^e siècle', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 59 (1947), 121-53, repr. in *Les relations entre l'Orient et l'Occident au Moyen Âge* (London, 1977).

21. An exception was stipulated for immigrants from Asia Minor ('Romania' and the coast of 'Satalia and Candelor as far as "la Liche"'): Kausler, *Les livres*, Sect. 359.

requested 325 besants to give permission for the marriage of a female serf to a serf who had previously been freed (although in a different case he gave a *paroikissa* to another person, *franguamente et libera*).²²

The question of illegitimate children also arose. The ordinance tried to reconcile the preceding rule with the concern that free union would provide a means for escaping serfdom. The illegitimate child of a free woman ought to be free, even if the father was a serf. But the assize provided for an inquiry in this case: if it could be proved that the serf and the free woman lived together, their children would be regarded as serfs. But open concubinage might have been practised in the hope that the woman could avoid the rule by which she shared the condition of her husband as long as she was married to him.²³

Could illegitimacy be a means of escaping from serfdom?²⁴ This is what a text from the early fifteenth century, originating from Negroponte, shows. The text denounces the 'malicia' (the word used in Cyprus in 1396) of villeins and 'parèques' who 'per inganar i soy signori e liberar soy figli de servitu cum specia de batardesimo' would refrain from celebrating their marriages, whatever the condition of the woman with whom they had a relationship ('conversaient'). An attempt was made to remedy the situation by stipulating that if they had lived together for three years at least, the children would be viewed as legitimate and consequently as 'vilani et parigi del signor de suo padre'.²⁵

Another means of circumventing the rules for transmission of serfdom was not envisaged by the assize of 1396. It was the custom followed concerning *evreta* or foundlings. If these children had been abandoned on the steps of a church, they were taken into charge by the 'mother-church' of Nicosia or by other persons, and were considered to be free (for no one could deprive a man of his freedom). James II had

22. J. Richard, *Le livre des remembrances de la secrète du royaume de Chypre pour l'année 1468-1469* (Nicosia, 1988), Nos. 98-9, 158, 177. One of these acts freed a serf and his two children with 'les enfans qu'il feront [sic] de femes franchises', for a payment of 3,000 besants.

23. See P.W. Topping, *Feudal Institutions as Revealed in the Assizes of Romania* (Philadelphia, 1949), pp. 68, 84, 86, 173.

24. According to the texts cited above, illegitimate children followed the status of their mother, and legitimate children that of the father.

25. This text, originally published by C. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues* (Berlin, 1873), pp. 223-5, was commented on by D. Jacoby, *La féodalité dans la Grèce médiévale: Les 'Assises de Romanie': sources, application et diffusion*, Documents et recherches sur l'économie des pays byzantins, islamiques et slaves, Vol. 10 (Paris - The Hague, 1971), p. 208.

to demand that his advisers conduct an inquiry into this privilege of Saint Sophia of Nicosia: the Council of Ten tried to abolish the privilege, but it nevertheless survived.²⁶

The 1396 assize provided that the irregular situation of children born of serf women married to 'francmates' or cases of concubinage between serfs and free women might be subject to denunciation. The lord who thereby recovered 'parèques' should pay 125 besants per person to the one who denounced them. The assize also provided that these situations could be regularized within a period of three months, if the parents concerned appeared before appointed commissioners to submit their declarations. The commissioners had to take note of the names and ages of children, information which later would figure in the registry (*prahitico*) of their village (*casal*).

* * *

The cases which have been mentioned concern unions contracted between 'parèques' and 'francmates', the former serfs and the latter free, but all part of a seignorial system in which the vast majority of the lords were Franks of Western origin.²⁷ The dependents were generally Greeks. This system was adapted to a mainly rural society; the situation of bourgeois groups belonging to the Greek community posed a problem. Leontios Makhairas expressed the resentment of the Greek townsmen towards their Syrian counterparts, who were of the same religion as themselves, but were regarded as freemen while they themselves, because they paid a poll tax, were *perpiriari* who were grouped with the rural serfs.²⁸ The question of mixed marriages

26. G. Grivaud, 'Un aspect de la politique sociale vénitienne à Chypre: les enfants trouvés', *Centre d'études chypriotes* (Nanterre), *Cahier* No. 8 (1987), 31-4; Richard, *Le livre des remembrances*, No. 155. According to Bernardo Sagredo (1565), 'vengano buttati sopra le strade la notte et poi, la mattina, dicono haverli trovati et con questo se fanno francmati' (they are left on the roads at night and then, in the morning, they say they have found them and because of this the children are made 'francmati'): L. de Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre* (Paris, 1854), Vol. 3, p. 552. On the dating of Sagredo's report, see B. Arbel, 'Cypriot Population under Venetian Rule', *Meletai kai Ypomnēmata*, 1 (1984), n. 173.

27. There were certain exceptions: Greeks achieving nobility, monasteries attached to seignorial domains and possessing their own *parèques*, etc.

28. J. Richard, 'Le peuplement latin et syrien en Chypre au XIII^e siècle', *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 7 (1979), 166-71, repr. in *Croisés, missionnaires et voyageurs* (London, 1983).

necessarily came up in this respect, since Greeks and Syrians carried on parallel activities and achieved similar levels of wealth. The Franks themselves, both bourgeois and possibly noblemen, were also liable to contract marriages with Greeks of their own social class. The 1396 assize does not envisage this situation, which moreover dates to after the great wave of emancipations granted by Peter I; the term 'femme franche' apparently meant a woman possessing personal freedom, not one belonging to the 'Frankish' nation.

The *Assize of Romania*, in contrast, did anticipate such a situation. It hypothetically discusses the marriage between a woman holding a fief and a villein. Such a marriage would have entailed, according to this text, her loss of both the fief and her condition of freedom as long as the marriage lasted, and the subjection of any children born of the union to the status of their father.²⁹

A case of this type did occur, but at the level of free bourgeois rather than of enfeoffed persons, in an act which Anthony Luttrell discovered in the Archives of Malta and which he has been kind enough to allow us to publish.³⁰

The year was 1365. The new master of the Hospital, Raymond Bérenger, received a supplication from the six children of a deceased sergeant of the order, who was administering the village of Villanova. The act, received in Rhodes on 15 February, reads as follows:

Frater Raymundus, etc., et nos conventus domus ejusdem, dilectis nostris in Christo Jamoino, Jahanoto, Guillelmo et Deodato servis ac Joye et Maragarite servabus nostris et nostre dicte domus, filiisque et filiabus condam Richardone Bovis et Sofie, nostre et domus nostre serve casalis de Villanova, salutem etc. Sicut supplicatio vestra nobis exhibita continuit, dictus condam Richardonus pater vester francus homo fuit et de provincia Provincie oriundus et, per mundum discurrens sicut fortuna perduxit, tempore bone memorie fratris Elyoni de Villanova, dicte sacre domus magistri antecessoris nostri prelibati magistri, venit ad Rodum et de ordinatione et mandato antecessoris prefati ad casale predictum Villenove se moraturum contulit pro sargento et ibidem servitium sargenti exercendo, de licencia, consensu et voluntate predicti fratris Elyonis tunc

29. Topping, *Feudal Institutions*, p. 86.

30. A. Luttrell, 'Greeks, Latins and Turks in Late Medieval Rhodes', *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 11 (1967), 361, according to Arch. Malta, cod. 319, fol. 272.

magistri, predictus Richardonus pater vester premissam Sofiam matrem vestram, servam nostram, duxit [*sic*] in uxorem, et tunc dictus condam dominus Elyonus ei promisit quod omnes sui filii essent franci et france, et propterea fuistis more Francorum et ut filii hominis franci omnes baptizati; cumque nominatus vester pater ex incuria et negligencia dicto condam fratre Elyono manumissionis et libertatis vestre habere litteram non curavit, supplicastis nobis humiliter ut, dicta condam patris vestri negligencia non atenta, sed potius ad promissionem predictam recolende memorie domini fratris Elyoni patri vestro factam, cum duxit in uxorem dictam vestram matrem, et quia idem vester pater francus homo fuit et Provincialis, et quia eratis secundum morem Francorum et sacrosancte Romane ecclesie baptizati, consideracione reflexa erga vos dignarentur misericorditer pietatis vicera [*sic*] aperire ac vos et vestrum quemlibet et quamlibet et descendentes ex vobis et vestrum altero et altera per imperpetuum manumittere [*sic*] francosque et francas facere de nostra certa sciencia et speciali gracia per nostras litteras oportunas. Sane quia predicta omnia in vestra prefata exposicione contenta plurium fidedignorum certa et asertina [*sic*] relacione constiterunt nobis fore vera, promissione predicte per prefatum condam dominum fratrem Elyonum factam dicto patre vestro cum premissam vestram matrem sibi matrimonialiter copulavit honorificencia de hiis ut tenemure [*sic*] et meruit deferentes, et quia ex franco patre estis geniti et ut Franci baptizati, nec minus quia exemplum salutiferum Redemptoris nostri domini, domini Jhesu Christi, qui de superna arce ad mundi hujus infima ut nos a servitute qua suberemur diabolo liberaret, descendere est dignatus ad compasciendum nostre calamitati, et ad agenda vobis clementer nos hatrahit [*sic*] et inducit, premissos [*sic*] consideracionibus nos erga vos clementer habentes, vos Jamoiny et Jahanotum, Guillelmum et Deodatum, ac Joyam et Margaritam predictos et predictas, et vestrum quemlibet et quamlibet et omnes et singulos ex vobis et vestrum altero seu altera et ex ipsis postea successive perpetuo descendentes, invicem deliberato consilio auctoritate presencium de nostra certa sciencia et speciali gracia ab omni servitute, nexu et servili qua et quo nobis et ipsi nostre domus tenebavimini et tenemini manumittimus, liberamus et absolvimus, ac francos et francas civesque Romanos efficimus, et omne servitutis vestre peculium vobis et vestrum cuilibet tenore presencium relaxamus. Mandantes sub virtute sancte

obediencie universis et singulis fratribus domus presentibus et futuris, cujuscumque status, gradus vel condicionis existant, ne contra predictam nostram manumissionem, libertatem, remissionem et gratiam aliquantum facere vel venire presumant, quin ymo perpetuis temporibus efficaciter illa servant. In cujus rey, etc. Datum Rodi, die quintadecima mensis febroarii anno LXV.

The person alluded to, Richardon Boeuf, said to be of the Provençal nation, is described as having wandered in search of adventure until the day when he reached Rhodes and put himself in the service of Master Hélión de Villeneuve, who made him a village sergeant. There he met and married a female serf called Sophia; and it is affirmed that the master gave him not only permission for this marriage but also an assurance that his children would be considered as free men ('francs'). The lack of any written statement testifying to this promise obliged his children to request confirmation from Raymond Bérenger who, after an inquiry, agreed.

Among the arguments presented there is one which attracts attention: Richardon had had his children christened according to the Latin rite (their names actually come from Latin onomastics). That was because he had the master's promise that they would be considered 'francs'. This constitutes a case of ambiguity which is not easy to unravel. When discussing christening, *more Francorum* refers to membership in the Frankish 'nation'; the fact of enfranchisement, though, recognizes the subjects' 'franchise' in the sense of their free condition. Even the expression 'cives Romanos' is liable to a double interpretation, and one may well imagine that the notary, having a smattering of legalese, could have meant either to express full liberty through this term, or that these words could be intended to evoke the 'law of Rome', a term which the *Assizes of Jerusalem* use to designate the faithful of the Church of Rome, who make up the Frankish nation . . . But it is difficult to go so far as to say that Raymond Bérenger's letters are equivalent to letters of naturalization, which would confer on the children of the Provençal and the Greek woman the status of 'Franks'.

The *Statutes of Rhodes* contain an article which provides that any child born of a free and Latin father and of a Greek mother is free.³¹ In

31. Ibid. Should one allow that the *Statutes of Rhodes* envisaged the case of a free Greek woman, while Sophia, the mother of Richardon's children, was a serf? We have seen that in such a situation the *Assizes of Romania* allows that the children acquire the father's status.

the above case the Latin christening of children does not seem to be enough to establish their right to freedom; the christening is only one argument more in support of the request for emancipation which Richardon Boeuf's children have submitted to the master of the Hospital. The fact of being Western and Latin — which is also an element in this argumentation, since Brother Raymond recalled the fact that the applicants' father was Provençal — in case of a marriage between Frank and serf, does not appear to waive the need for the seignorial approval which was the subject of the 1396 Cypriot Assize.

The Deathbed Oration of Doge Mocenigo and the Mint of Venice

Alan M. Stahl

It stands out as one of the great dramatic scenes of medieval Venetian history. Feeling death approaching, the 80-year-old Doge Tomaso Mocenigo calls to his bedside the leading nobles of Venice and gives his political testament. After a brief invocation of the Trinity and the obligations of the Dogate, he turns to the subject at hand — the state of the Republic. As if running for re-election he reviews the accomplishments of his reign: reduction of the public debt, regular return on state bonds, and commercial prosperity encouraged by a period of peace. Statistics are copious and precise, including the number of sailors on the galleys and weavers of silk as well as data on the level of trade and of state income.

The Doge then pauses in his review of the state of the Republic to look to the future. If the nobles follow Mocenigo's advice, God will make them lords of all the gold of Christendom, but if they should make war unjustly the Lord will destroy them. He bids the nobles confide to him their plans for the election of his successor and then proceeds to give his own views on the matter. Marino Caravello, he says, is a worthy man for the office as are six other individuals whom he specifies. Only one candidate is unworthy: Francesco Foscari, who spreads lies and who soars more than a falcon. If the electors should defy the will of God by electing Foscari Doge they will find themselves engaged in wars which will destroy their wealth, honour, and reputation. From lords they will become vassals, from soldiers they will become boys.

Mocenigo then drops the subject of his successor and returns to his survey of the condition of Venice. He enumerates the number and kind of warships in service to the Republic and lauds the learning of the scholars and wisdom of the government advisers. He then turns to a consideration of the mint and enumerates the coins minted, the quantity of each denomination produced annually, and the area of circulation of each coin. He then surveys the levels of trade in various commodities,

especially those involving Florentine merchants. He concludes his talk quickly with a plea that the assembled nobles maintain the state of affairs they have inherited.

The Doge was, it would appear, a prophet. Upon his death, Francesco Foscari was in fact elected as his successor, and Venice became embroiled in wars on the mainland and suffered increasing reversals in its efforts to control Ottoman advances in the Mediterranean. Foscari himself became the object of continued factional attacks. He was brought to the point of offering to abdicate once in 1433 and was finally deposed in 1457 in a series of intrigues which would serve as the basis for melodramas by Byron and Verdi.

The theatrical and prophetic nature of this deathbed oration, known commonly as the Mocenigo *arenga*, raises the suspicion that it might not be exactly what it purports to be — the unaltered record of the words of Tomaso Mocenigo on his deathbed in 1423. The speech is remarkable on other counts as well. It is an unusually rich source of statistics of a precision rarely found in medieval documents. It gives an inside view of late medieval Venetian politics, unlike archival documents which give only the texts of resolutions and decisions and narrative sources which present the Venetian state as untroubled by faction.

Even more unusual is the role of the Doge in this encounter. For the most part, medieval Venetian Doges do not emerge from any sources as individuals. Even the role of the Doge in formulating policy is unclear; in archival documents his position is rarely cited regarding legislation or judgments. In chronicles and other narratives, Doges usually appear as personifications of the virtues and fate of the republic, except for a few 'bad' Doges who are equally routinely vilified. To have a document which reproduces the text of a speech of a Doge is remarkable; to have one which records his advice for as controversial a topic as the selection of a successor is virtually unprecedented. It is only virtually unprecedented in that two other speeches are preserved of the same Doge, reportedly delivered two years before his death to the Greater Council and the Senate; they treat relations with Florence. Like the deathbed *arenga*, these public speeches contain detailed information on present conditions and predictions of future events which turn out to be amazingly prescient in light of later developments.

Taken all together, the dramatic circumstances, the detailed statistics, the unprecedented context and the fulfilled prophecies of the Mocenigo *arenga* necessarily call forth doubts as to whether it is, indeed, the actual text of a speech given by the Doge on this occasion. The circumstances of the text's transmission do little to allay such

suspensions. For the text of the deathbed oration, or its existence at all, is not recorded in any archival document or any other clearly contemporary source; the same is true for the anti-Florentine discourses. The three speeches are mainly known from versions copied into chronicles, most of which were composed at least a century after the event; all are in Venetian vernacular. The earliest extant version of the texts appears to be in a small undated manuscript in the Marciana Library, which begins 'This is a copy of the book of the illustrious Tomaso Mocenigo, Doge of Venice, respecting the Florentine ambassadors'; it is in a hand identified in the Marciana catalogue only as fifteenth-century.¹ This manuscript contains the texts of the two public addresses concerning Florence followed by the deathbed *arenga*; on the last folio the sixteenth-century historian and diarist Marino Sanuto has added a few lines in his distinctive hand summarizing various financial statistics from the document. Three manuscripts in the Marciana dating from the sixteenth century also contain texts of the *arenga*; they are all chronicles in Venetian vernacular.² There are additional versions in later manuscripts in the Marciana and others no doubt exist in other collections; no critical edition of the text has been published.³

Despite its problematic aspects, the deathbed oration of Mocenigo has been published several times and has been generally accepted by historians. Sanuto copied it into his *Vite dei Dogi* in the early decades of the sixteenth century and it was thus published in Muratori's 1733 edition of this work.⁴ Translations into German and Italian respectively

1. Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice (hereafter BMV), MS Ital., Cl. VII, 763 (7960). See *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia*, Vol. 85, ed. P. Zorzanella (Florence, 1963), p. 76. Archival research for this study was made possible by a series of grants from the Gladys K. Delmas Foundation.
2. BMV, MS Ital., Cl. VII, 794 (8503), fols. 24-24v (addition to the Chronicle of Giorgio Dolfin, copy dated generally to the sixteenth century in *Inventari*, Vol. 85, p. 86); BMV, MS Ital., Cl. VII, 519 (8438), fols. 202-3 (Chronicle of Nicolò Trevisan to 1585; *Inventari*, Vol. 85, p. 3); BMV, MS Ital., Cl. VII, 1568 (8016), fols. 414-15 (Chronicle to 1556, continued in later hand); *Inventari*, Vol. 87, pp. 94-5. ed. Zorzanella (Florence, 1967).
3. There is also a text of a 'testamento politico' of Doge Tomaso Mocenigo in a 16th-century compilation in the Archivio di Stato, Venice (hereafter ASV), Avogaria di Comun, reg. 106/1, fol. 5 continued on fol. 9v, in the same hand as the entries to the *Liber Nuptiarum* in the same volume up to about the year 1500. This text mainly concerns relations with Florence and does not contain the mint statistics.
4. *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Vol. 22 (Milan, 1733), cols. 958-60.

were published in the Venetian histories of Lebreton and Romanin.⁵ The editors of the *Bilanci generali della Repubblica di Venezia* in 1912 published a version in their compilation of documents relating to the finances of the Venetian state.⁶ Though he characterized it as full of contradictions and not fully comprehensibly transmitted, Heinrich Kretschmayr considered the *arenga* of extraordinary importance and published the text in an appendix to a volume of his *Geschichte von Venedig*.⁷

The first critical examination of the statistical value of the *arenga* was in an article of 1929 by Gino Luzzatto in which he compared figures offered by the chronicler Villani for Florence with those of the Mocenigo oration for Venice.⁸ He examined mainly the oration's statistics for the public debt of Venice and state income, comparing these to data from archival sources. Luzzatto found that Mocenigo's claim of lowering the debt from 10 million ducats to 6 million seemed exaggerated, but that if new impositions known from 1413 had been repeated after five years and if bonds had increased in value on the market, the figures given in the *arenga* might be acceptable. In order to show that Mocenigo's estimate of state income might be accurate, Luzzatto inferred a copyist's error of 'ducats' for 'pounds' and surmised that it was 'not at all improbable' that there had been an increase in fortunes after the War of Chioggia of sufficient magnitude to have brought the state income up to the level given in the oration. Luzzatto found it even more difficult to control the *arenga*'s figures for imports and exports. From a documented raise in import fees in 1413 he calculated a total volume of six million ducats in value of goods moved, which he concluded was close enough to Mocenigo's figure of ten million ducats worth of capital to make the latter figure reasonable. All in all, Luzzatto's calculations showed that with many assumptions and

5. J.-F. Lebreton, *Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, Vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1769), pp. 430-32; S. Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia*, Vol. 4 (Venice, 1855), pp. 93-5.
6. *Bilanci generali della Repubblica di Venezia*, R. Accademia dei Lincei, Atti delle Assemblée costituzionali italiane, Documenti finanziari, ser. 2, Vol. 1, pt. 1, No. 81, pp. 94-7.
7. H. Kretschmayr, *Geschichte von Venedig*, Vol. 2 (1920: repr. Aalen, 1964), pp. 617-19; this is taken from the *Bilanci* and based on the Dolfen Chronicle version.
8. G. Luzzatto, 'Sull'attendibilità di alcune statistiche economiche medievali', in his *Studi di storia economica veneziana* (Padua, 1954), pp. 271-84, repr. from *Giornale degli economisti* (1929).

hypotheses some of the statistics in the oration could be made consistent with data from other sources. He ended with the caution that not all of the statistics offered by Mocenigo (or by chroniclers) could be taken as necessarily reliable.

The second attempt to reconcile statistics in the *arenga* with those from archival sources was made in 1934 by Frederic C. Lane in his *Venetian Ships and Shipbuilders of the Renaissance*.⁹ The total number of ships of all kinds (*navi*) given in the *arenga* is 300; Lane found this same figure cited in the preamble to a Senate resolution of 1502 as the common value for the period 1420-50, which he took as confirmation of the *arenga* figure. The more specific breakdown in the *arenga* of the number of galleys and sailors on them he found exaggerated but not out of proportion, while the number of smaller ships it gave could not be confirmed but presented no impossibilities on the assumption that the whole *dogado* was included. Lane concluded that the number of employees given in the *arenga* for the ship-building arsenal was out of proportion even if allowance was made for those working on small boats throughout the lagoon. In the end he accepted the figures for shipping in the *arenga* as 'substantially correct' and went on to use them as the basis for further calculations.

In 1959, Hans Baron dealt with the question of the two public addresses attributed to Mocenigo on the subject of relations with Florence, which are included with the *arenga* in most redactions.¹⁰ Citing Luzzatto, he stated that the statistics in the deathbed oration appeared to be drawn from contemporary official sources and that, if not infallible, they reflected information which could only have been available to a statesman in a key position in Mocenigo's own day. The Florentine orations, however, were very different. According to Baron, these contained information clearly posterior to the lifetime of Mocenigo and must have been drafted at least a decade after his death. He gave as the most likely date for their composition the period 1433-34, when a faction in Venice opposed to Foscari and his Florentine alliance forced him to offer his abdication.

Despite the inherent problems with the nature of the text, the lack of a contemporary manuscript or even a critical edition, and the

9. F.C. Lane, *Venetian Ships and Shipbuilders of the Renaissance* (Baltimore, 1934), pp. 253-4.

10. H. Baron, 'The Anti-Florentine Discourses of the Doge Tommaso Mocenigo (1422-1423)', in his *Humanistic and Political Literature in Florence and Venice at the Beginning of the Quattrocento* (Cambridge, MA, 1955), pp. 185-215.

inconclusive nature of the inquiries into its authenticity, the *arenga* has been used at face value in much of the modern historiography on Venice. Roberto Cessi used the speech to illustrate the contrast between the last medieval generation embodied by Mocenigo and the Renaissance outlook pursued by Foscari.¹¹ For Frederic Lane, writing in 1973, what he called Mocenigo's 'Farewell Address' signalled a decisive moment in Venice's turn westwards.¹² In a recent collaborative history of Venice, Gaetano Cozzi, though acknowledging 'inexactnesses and exaggerations' in the discourse, based his discussion of the economy of the period on the figures it contained.¹³ Beyond the immediate world of Venice, the statistics in the Mocenigo *arenga* have been at the base of discussions of the volume of Mediterranean trade in the late Middle Ages, Venice's role in this trade, and the outflow of bullion reserves from Europe to the East as a result of an uneven balance of trade.¹⁴

In view of the importance of this text for the history of Venice and of Mediterranean trade in the late Middle Ages, it is worthwhile to examine it from as many aspects as possible. In this paper, I propose to compare the passage in the *arenga* on the products of the Venetian mint with data from independent sources, documentary and numismatic. This passage was not discussed by Luzzatto or in Lane's early treatment, but discrepancies between it and other evidence have been noted by Nicolò Papadopoli in the nineteenth century and by Frederic Lane and John Day in recent years. None, however, analysed the passage in detail or cast doubt on the underlying genuineness of the document.¹⁵

11. R. Cessi, *Storia della Repubblica di Venezia*, 2nd edn. (1968; repr. Florence, 1981), pp. 362-7.

12. F.C. Lane, *Venice, A Maritime Republic* (Baltimore, 1973), pp. 226-30.

13. G. Cozzi, 'Politica, società, istituzioni', in G. Cozzi and M. Knapton, *Storia della Repubblica di Venezia; Dalla guerra di Chioggia alla riconquista della Terraferma* (Turin, 1986), pp. 161-3.

14. E. Ashtor, *Les métaux précieux et la balance des paiements du proche-orient à la basse époque*, (Paris, 1971), pp. 65-8; J. Day, 'The Great Bullion Famine of the Fifteenth Century', in his *The Medieval Market Economy* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 28-33; P. Spufford, *Money and its Use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 350-52.

15. N. Papadopoli, *Le monete di Venezia*, Vol. I (Venice, 1893), p. 250; F.C. Lane, 'Exportations vénitiennes d'or et d'argent de 1200 à 1450', in J. Day (ed.), *Etudes d'histoire monétaire* (Lille, 1984), and repr. in F.C. Lane, *Studies in Venetian Social and Economic History*, ed. B.G. Kohl and R.C. Mueller (London, 1987), p. 47, nn. 52-5; Day, 'Bullion Famine', p. 28, n. 154.

In an appendix below, I give an edition of the passage based on the earliest manuscript in the Marciana, that used by Marino Sanuto for his version. The lack of punctuation leaves certain sections ambiguous, but a rough rendering in English is as follows:

You have seen our mint strike every year one million two hundred thousand gold ducats and in silver coins, among *grossetti*, *mezzanini* and *soldini* 800,000 [ducats worth] a year. Of these 500,000 [ducats worth] of *grossetti* go each year in Syria and Egypt; and they go to our lands as well: to the land of Terra Ferma there go 100,000 ducats worth of *mezzanini* and *soldini*, and to our lands over seas there go each year 100,000 ducats worth of *grossetti* and *soldini*. Each year 100,000 ducats worth of *soldini* go to England. The rest remains in Venice.

This is reasonably consistent, though the last phrase saying that the rest remains in Venice is inexplicable if it refers to the silver coins, as those whose destination is specified add up to the total given as minted.

When the three other early manuscripts are considered, however, the picture becomes less clear. For, of the six figures given in the text, there is not a single one on which all four manuscripts give the same reading, nor is it evident which, if any, is based on a more accurate earlier redaction. In the version in the Dolfín Chronicle, which served as the basis for the text published by Romanin and Kretschmayr, the quantities of silver sent to the Levant and the mainland are much lower, leaving a significant amount of silver to remain in Venice.¹⁶ The other two redactions also leave significant amounts of coinage unaccounted for. For the purpose of comparison with other figures, the text used by Sanuto will be used here, though similar comparisons could be made for any of the other versions.

The first question is whether the coins enumerated correspond to the denominations minted in Venice in 1423, the year of the death of Doge Tomaso Mocenigo. In general terms those listed do reflect the role of the higher denomination coins in the late medieval Venetian currency: ducats were the only gold coins, and among silver coins *grossi* were

16. Text B gives the amount of *grossetti* sent to Syria and Egypt as 5,000 marks rather than 500,000 ducats worth; as 149 *grossi* weighed a mark in this period, and 26 *grossi* (104 *soldini*) were equal to a ducat, 5,000 marks would be worth only about 29,000 ducats: cf. Papadopoli, *Monete*, Vol. 1, pp. 363-4, No. 22, and F.C. Lane and R.C. Mueller, *Money and Banking in Medieval and Renaissance Venice*, Vol. 1, *Coins and Money of Account* (Baltimore, 1985), p. 605.

used for long-distance trade, *soldini* were for local use and were exported to England, and *mezzanini* were used for colonies on the mainland. Lacking from the list are the low denomination coins, with low alloys of silver mixed with copper; for Mocenigo's reign these comprised the *tornesello*, a three-penny coin for the Greek colonies, and three different types of penny, issued respectively for Venice, for the Terra Ferma colonies of Verona and Vicenza, and for Friuli.¹⁷ While the pennies were apparently of limited minting and circulation, the *tornesello* was produced in enormous quantities in the late fourteenth century and its production was still considerable in the reign of Mocenigo, though almost nil in the decades following his death.¹⁸ It would not, however, be unexpected for a Doge whose main aim was to convey the importance of Venetian coinage to omit these humble pieces from his enumeration.

What is less explicable is the use of the term *grossetti*, little *grosso* pieces. Since the beginning of the thirteenth century the *grosso* had been the largest silver coin of Venice and the silver basis of its trade currency. There was, up to the time of the death of Doge Mocenigo, however, only one *grosso*, which is never called a *grossetto* in contemporary documents. However, six years after his death a new double *grosso* was introduced; from this point on the term *grossone* would be used for the new large coin, and *grossetto* for the normal *grosso*.¹⁹ One of the manuscripts of the *arenga* uses only the term *grosso* and another uses both *grosso* and *grossetto*, so the discrepancy might be explained by assuming that various later redactors changed the word *grosso* in the original text to *grossetto*, which would more meaningful to contemporaries.

The term *mezzanino* is less easily explained. The *mezzanino* was a half-*grosso* coin. It was introduced in 1406 during the reign of Mocenigo's predecessor but appears to have been discontinued by the beginning of his Dogate in 1413; no *mezzanino* coins bearing his name are known.²⁰ However, the *mezzanino* denomination was reintroduced in 1429 at the same time as the *grossone* as a coin for the possessions of Terra Ferma. Its inclusion in all versions of the *arenga* strongly

17. Papadopoli, *Monete*, Vol. 1, p. 253.

18. A.M. Stahl, *The Venetian Tornesello; A Medieval Colonial Coinage* (New York, 1985), pp. 24-5 and 51.

19. Papadopoli, *Monete*, Vol. 1, pp. 364-5, No. 23.

20. *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 352-3, No. 19, and pp. 239 and 252. There was an issue of *mezzanini* in the previous century as well, but this was discontinued by 1353.

suggests that this part of the text was written or revised some time after 1429.

The chief interest of the mint passage in the *arenga* is in its data for the annual production of the various denominations. While at least partial records of mintage survive from the Middle Ages for such other major Italian mints as Genoa and Florence and for the national mints of England and France, no such data are available for Venice before the seventeenth century.²¹ The figures in the *arenga* are therefore of enormous potential value in estimating the level of production of the Venetian mint, through which a large percentage of European bullion is believed to have travelled on its way east. As there are no official mintage figures to compare to the *arenga*, it is necessary to use the few occasional indications which can be found in various documents scattered through the Venetian archives from the century before Mocenigo's death in 1423.

The first mint statistic in the *arenga* is that for the annual production of gold ducats, given as 1,200,000 coins in three manuscripts and 1,300,000 in a fourth. The most substantive documentation for the minting of the ducat was occasioned by an enormous glut of gold coming to Venice in 1343, eight decades before the death of Mocenigo.²² The gold mint was then expanded in size and a second team of workers was authorized to work whenever there were more than 700 marks of gold in the mint. This appears to refer to the amount to be processed in the *quindena*, the rotation shift of each master, which in this period was for two months.²³ From this, it can be inferred that the quantity of gold which would have necessitated extraordinary double staffing would have been 4,200 marks a year (700 x 6); at the rate of 67 ducats per mark this would have been 281,400 ducats a year. Within a few years the doubling of the gold mint staff was eliminated, apparently in view of the end of the great supply of bullion.²⁴ The extraordinary rate in this period is less than one-quarter the figure given as normal in the *arenga*.

21. Day, 'Bullion Famine', pp. 53-4; U. Tucci, 'Le emissioni monetarie di Venezia e i movimenti internazionali dell'oro', in his *Mercanti, navi, monete nel Cinquecento veneziano* (Bologna, 1981), pp. 300-305.

22. A. Lombardo (ed.), *Le deliberazioni del Consiglio dei Quaranta della Repubblica di Venezia*, Vol. 1 (Venice, 1957), pp. 52-3, No. 173.

23. Lane and Mueller, *Money and Banking*, Vol. 1, pp. 623-5.

24. ASV, Provveditori in Zecca, reg. 6ter (capitulary of mint masters for gold), fols. 17v-18v, Ch. 49.

In 1370 the mint weigher for gold sought a raise in his salary because of the increase in the minting of gold from an earlier level of 400 marks per *quindena* to a current level of over 1500 marks; he was given the raise.²⁵ Thus, 1,500 marks of gold a *quindena* or 600,000 ducats a year was considered an extraordinarily high rate of minting in the late fourteenth century. In a set of proposals for the reform of the gold mint in 1414, it was noted that the level of minting was lower than in the past but that occasionally as much as 100,000 ducats worth of gold were in the mint at a time, which should elicit extraordinary care.²⁶ This would imply a *quindena* of 100,000 ducats, or an annual minting of 600,000 as an unusually high figure. That same year, on Christmas eve, there was a fire that threatened the mint; chroniclers remarked how fortunate it was that the mint was untouched, as 120,000 ducats worth of gold and silver coins were in there at the time.²⁷ Again, if this was the amount processed during the rotation of a mint master, it would imply a maximum annual minting of 720,000 ducats a year if all the coins were gold.

None of these figures adduced for ducat production, all of which represent quantities considered extraordinarily high, are anywhere near the 1,200,000 reported in the Mocenigo *arenga*. The volume of the minting of the ducat would have had to have risen dramatically in his ten-year reign to make his figure representative of normal production.

The quantity of silver coins minted appears as 800,000 ducats worth in most manuscripts of the *arenga*. The three silver coins represented are the *soldino*, the *mezzanino* worth two *soldini*, and the *grosso* worth four *soldini*. At the death of Doge Mocenigo in 1423 the ducat was worth about 104 *soldini* and about 600 *soldini* were cut from the mark weight of silver; there were 26 *grossi* to the ducat and 150 cut from the mark.²⁸ Therefore, 800,000 ducats worth would be about eighty million *soldino* coins, twenty million *grossi* or an equivalent number of mixed denominations; it would represent the annual minting of about 140,000 marks of silver (about 35,000 kilograms). There are somewhat more archival data for silver minting than for gold to compare with this figure.

25. ASV, Grazie, reg. 16, fol. 111.

26. ASV, Senato Misti, reg. 50, fols. 95-99v.

27. Morosini Chronicle, cited in Lane, 'Exportations', p. 46, n. 49; Sanuto, *Vite dei dogi*, col. 892.

28. Papadopoli, *Monete*, Vol.1, pp. 363-4, No. 22.

In 1319 a mint master was fined for rendering insufficient profits for two of his tours of duty; in each about 8,000 marks of silver had been coined.²⁹ This would have amounted to 48,000 marks of silver a year (with a *quindena* of two months) or in the values of Mocenigo's day to about 275,000 ducats worth per year. In 1375 the mint weighers for silver sought raises on the grounds that in the period they had worked there (at least 14 years), the amount of silver minted had gone from 10,000 marks to 16,000 marks; the period is not specified, but it is presumably either per year or per two-month *quindena*.³⁰ This would imply a minting at a high point of production of about 92,000 ducats worth a year of silver if the figure is for a year and 550,000 ducats worth if it is per *quindena*. In 1390 another mint master was cited for turning over insufficient profit; he appears to have been the only master minting silver coins in this period.³¹ During four years in office he is reported to have minted at the rate of about 12,000 marks a year, equivalent to about 70,000 ducats worth a year. In the fourteenth century, then, the few data we have are for about 275,000 ducats worth of silver produced per year in 1319, which either rose to 550,000 ducats worth or fell to 92,000 ducats worth in 1375 and was about 70,000 ducats worth by 1390. These all fall far short of the 800,000 ducats worth of silver cited in the *arenga*.

Three documents from the first years of the fifteenth century allow us to calculate very rough figures for the minting of silver in the years immediately preceding Mocenigo's death. In 1401 the smelters of the silver mint appealed to the Senate for relief from a deficiency of 27 marks of silver over the past six years.³² They argued that their allowance for silver lost in smoke was unreasonably small; following their arguments one can calculate that they had produced silver for the minting of 3,300 marks of *grossi* a year, equivalent to about 19,000 ducats worth.³³ The same year, the Greater Council noted that there were no applicants for the office of mint warden, since the 'utilities'

29. ASV, Avogaria di Comun, Liber Neptunus, fol. 85.

30. G. Bonfiglio Dosio (ed.), *Il 'Capitolare dalle Broche' della zecca di Venezia* (Padua, 1984), p. 37, n. 2.

31. ASV, Avogaria di Comun, Raspe, reg. 3644/4, fasc. 2, fols. 69-69v.

32. Bonfiglio Dosio, *Capitolare dalle Broche*, p. 77.

33. They explained that they were allowed $2\frac{3}{4}$ ounces of silver lost for every 100 marks of *grossi* produced. However, this was the weight of the finished coins; they actually had to refine 1,400 marks of silver to produce 1,000 marks of finished coins, as much of the metal ended up as scrap and needed to be reprocessed. If the difference between their allowance and the actual loss from

from this office had only come to 40 ducats (presumably per year) for the two men who held the position.³⁴ These benefits, which were in addition to the wardens' salaries, depended on the amount of silver minted; the sum of 40 ducats a year would imply a maximum minting of silver of 12,480 marks a year, equivalent to 72,000 ducats worth.³⁵

By the reign of Mocenigo the silver mint was in apparent decline; an act seeking to reform the mint in 1417 began with a preamble that the mint was 'in desolation and reduced almost to nothing'.³⁶ This attempt at reform failed; in 1419, one of the Doge's Councillors reported to the Senate that the amount of silver brought to Venice had declined from a level of 40,000 marks before the reform, to a current level of 10,000 marks a year.³⁷ These figures correspond to about 230,000 ducats worth per year before the reform and 58,000 ducats worth after it respectively, and are said to account for the total amount of silver bullion brought to Venice, not the portion of it actually turned into coin by the mint. The figures for silver from the decades immediately preceding Mocenigo's reign then range from a low of about 19,000 ducats a year, through 58,000 and 72,000 to a high of 230,000 ducats worth a year. Even the largest of these figures, given four years before Mocenigo's death as a past level of bullion import which was no longer attained, is less than a third the quantity given as minted in the *arenga*.

A numismatic method for estimating the amount of coins in an issue is based on comparing surviving specimens to calculate the number of dies originally used. Only one issue of Venetian coins mentioned in the *arenga* has been the subject of such a die study; this is the *grosso* of the last six years of the fourteenth century.³⁸ The estimate derived from this

smelting was 27 marks over six years, the total actual amount lost would have been 94.5 marks over six years and their allowance 67.5 marks, or 11.25 marks per year. If this was calculated at the rate of $2\frac{3}{4}$ ounce (there were eight ounces to the mark) per 100 marks of *grossi* produced, this must have been about 3,300 marks of silver.

34. ASV, Maggior Consiglio, Liber Leona, fol. 125.

35. They received 4d. per mark of silver coins whose weight they controlled, and 3d. per mark of copper: Bonfiglio Dosio, *Capitolare dalle Broche*, pp. 56-8 and 79-80. If they had worked only on silver this would have represented 12,480 marks controlled.

36. Bonfiglio Dosio, *Capitolare dalle Broche*, p. 90.

37. ASV, Senato Misti, reg. 53, fol. 18.

38. A.M. Stahl, 'Venetian Coinage: Variations in Production', in G. Depeyrot *et al.* (eds.), *Rythmes de la production monétaire, de l'antiquité à nos jours* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1987), pp. 472-3.

study was that there were about one million *grosso* coins produced per year in this period, equivalent to less than 40,000 ducats worth a year.

The figures derived from archival sources and the die study thus suggest levels of minting significantly below those given in the *arenga*. It might be argued that most of these are from earlier periods and that the reign of Mocenigo represented an unprecedented high level of Venetian coin production. The historical context of the reign, however, suggests the opposite. During most of Mocenigo's reign, Venice was the object of a commercial blockade mounted by the emperor Sigismund, one of the main goals of which was to keep supplies of silver and gold away from her mint.³⁹ Reinhold Mueller has characterized the years from 1417 to 1423 as a period of monetary crisis in Venice resulting from the blockade, with those coins remaining in circulation being light, clipped, or counterfeit and the state finding it necessary to limit the use of bank money not backed up with actual specie.⁴⁰ In 1421 the mint was described by the Doge's Councillors as being 'in such poor shape that it couldn't be worse and it might almost be called destitute'.⁴¹ That year a special council was set up to reform the silver mint and another council for gold; the silver council was still making its recommendations a year after the death of Doge Mocenigo.⁴²

To reconcile the figures in the Mocenigo *arenga* with the evidence for a generally low rate of minting during his reign, Frederic Lane posited a great recoinage in Venice beginning in 1422, the year before his death.⁴³ He cited a few anecdotal data which suggested more monetary activity than had existed in past years and noted an order for the reminting of silver coinage in March of 1422. From the deliberations leading up to the passage of this act, however, it is clear that the Senate consciously rejected the idea of a wide-ranging recoinage of the circulating stock.⁴⁴ A proposal was offered to allow private individuals to have old underweight coins replaced with new ones, on

39. W. von Stromer, 'Die Kontinentalsperre Kaiser Sigismunds gegen Venedig 1412-1413, 1418-1433, und die Verlagerung der transkontinentalen Transportwege', in A.B. Marx (ed.), *Trasporti e sviluppo economico*, Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica 'F. Datini', Atti delle settimane di studio, 5 (Florence, 1986), pp. 61-84.

40. R.C. Mueller, 'The Role of Bank Money in Venice, 1300-1500', *Studi veneziani*, NS 3 (1979), 88-91.

41. ASV, Senato Misti, reg. 53, fol. 104v.

42. Bonfiglio Dosio, *Capitolare dalle Broche*, pp. 103-6, 109; ASV, Senato Misti, reg. 53, fol. 147.

43. Lane, 'Exportations', pp. 36-40.

44. ASV, Senato Misti, reg. 54, fols. 6v-7.

a pound-for-pound basis but with no mint fee. This provision, which would have effected a widespread reminting, was rejected and the provision passed specified that only coins which were collected by state officials were to be covered by the recoinage. This measure did, apparently, have some effect; a year later, just before Mocenigo's death, the Senate revoked the order that coins received by state officials be reminted, citing the success of the measure in restoring some order to the circulating coinage.⁴⁵

But was this reminting of such a magnitude as to produce the level of production specified in the *arenga*? A major recoinage which in one year brought the mint from a condition described as 'almost dead' to one in which rates were significantly higher than at any documented time in the past century would surely have left its mark in the documentary and numismatic record.

It would have occasioned an extraordinary increase in the mint staff, whose size was constantly adjusted to correspond to production. There is, however, no evidence of such a major change. There were only two masters for gold and two for silver in this period, compared to as many as four for gold and three for silver only a decade before.⁴⁶ There was a single mint weigher for silver, compared to two in the fourteenth century, who in 1421 had also taken on the work previously done by one of the scribes.⁴⁷ Instead of the usual three die engravers, documented in the mid-fourteenth century and again in the early fifteenth, there were only two working in 1421, the brothers Marco and Bernardo Sesto.⁴⁸ Nor were they working full time at the mint; the only piece of goldsmith's work signed by them, the Venzone cross, bears the date of 1421.⁴⁹ In March 1424 the Senate recognized that one of the two mint assayers had died and, probably because of the advanced age of the remaining one, authorized the hiring and training of two new ones so the skill would not be lost; seven months later only one of these two had been hired.⁵⁰ The workers in the silver mint, paid by the volume

45. Ibid., reg. 54, fol. 92.

46. Bonfiglio Dosio, *Capitolare dalle Broche*, p. 109, and ASV, Senato Misti, reg. 51, fols. 90v-91r; cf. ibid., reg. 50, fol. 99, and Bonfiglio Dosio, ibid., pp. 89-90.

47. Bonfiglio Dosio, *Capitolare dalle Broche*, pp. 78-79, 106.

48. Lombardo, *Deliberazioni*, Vol. 2, p. 116, No. 385; ASV, Grazie, reg. 18, fol. 49; Bonfiglio Dosio, *Capitolare dalle Broche*, pp. 63-4.

49. See A.M. Stahl and L. Waldman, 'The Earliest Known Medalists: The Sesto Brothers of Venice', *American Journal of Numismatics*, NS 5/6 (1993-4), forthcoming.

50. Bonfiglio Dosio, *Capitolare dalle Broche*, pp. 107-8.

they worked, complained in 1424 that they could not survive on their current level of earnings, and their piece-work rates were raised.⁵¹ In short, there is no documentary indication of added activity at the mint at the end of Mocenigo's reign.

Nor has the recoinage made the impact on the numismatic record one would expect if it had been of the magnitude implied in the *arenga*. A hoard results from the finding in modern times of coins which an individual buried and failed to recover in an earlier age. Though each hoard results from particular circumstances, in general they give a picture of the currency available in a given place and time. If production was relatively constant, and the picture not distorted by changes in standard, it is usual to find a gradual increase in the representation of later issues in a hoard, when these are controlled for the number of years in the issue. This is caused by the gradual attrition of a portion of the circulating coinage. So, if three Doges reigned for equal periods and production of coins in their name was constant, one would expect to find more coins for the reign of the latest Doge than of his predecessors; if the reigns were unequal there would be more coins per year of reign of the more recent Doge than for earlier ones. Tomaso Mocenigo reigned a bit over nine years, his immediate predecessor Michele Steno for thirteen years, and the previous Doge Antonio Venier for eighteen years. If production had been more or less constant, the coinage of Mocenigo should hold its own in hoards against those of his predecessors. If his reign included a recoinage of the magnitude suggested by the figures in the *arenga*, coins in his name should dominate hoards of the mid-fifteenth century.

There are few mid-fifteenth-century hoards of Venetian coins published. This is to some extent a result of the development of forms of banking in this period and may also be a reflection of what has been characterized as the generally small amount of bullion in Europe in this age, which would not only result in low minting but in the more frequent reminting of existing stocks of metal. Only three hoards of ducats allow a comparison between the coinage of Mocenigo and those of surrounding reigns; in all, the ducats of his reign are fewer or the same in number as those of preceding reigns.⁵² There are only two

51. Ibid., pp. 108-9.

52. Ephesus, Turkey: C. Ölçer, 'Selçuk (Efeso). Il tesoro venuto alla luce durante gli scavi della Chiesa di S. Giovanni', *Bollettino di Numismatica*, 6-7 (1986), 299-304 (Venier-2, Steno-3, Mocenigo-1, Foscari-4); San Giorgio, Croatia: B. Schiavuzzi, 'Ripostiglio di monete medioevali scoperto nel giugno 1913 sul colle San Giorgio di Pola', *Rivista italiana di numismatica*, 27 (1914), 213-18

useful hoards for the *grosso*; in both of them Mocenigo's coins are represented less than those of his predecessors.⁵³ That there were no *mezzanino* coins in the name of Mocenigo is confirmed by the hoard from Salvarosa, which contained 5 *mezzanini* of his predecessor Steno and 47 of his successor Foscari, but none in his name.⁵⁴ For the *soldino* there are two known hoards; in both Mocenigo is represented by fewer coins than his predecessor Steno.⁵⁵ These coin finds then fail to indicate any significant rise in minting under Mocenigo and generally suggest a low level by comparison with earlier reigns.

The *arenga* makes a special point of noting that 100,000 ducats worth of *soldini* were sent each year to England, that is more than 10 million of these coins. Venetian *soldini* are indeed known to have circulated in England under the name 'galley halfpence', as they had approximately half the silver of an English penny.⁵⁶ Their circulation was, in fact, so notorious that they occasioned considerable activity beginning in 1400 in the House of Commons and the Council to curtail their importation and use. For the next 15 years there were frequent proclamations against their circulation and registers were made recording their seizure. From these records, however, it appears that the importation of Venetian *soldini* into England was effectively curtailed by the time of the election of Doge Mocenigo in 1414 and completely halted by his death in 1423; such importation appears to have had a brief resurgence early in the next century.⁵⁷ The record of finds of coins

(Venier-3, Steno-1, Mocenigo-3,); Vigevano, Italy: E.A. Arslan, *Il tesoretto di Vigevano* (Milan, 1975) (Venier-4, Steno-4, Mocenigo-1, Foscari-15).

53. San Giorgio (see n. 52 above) (Venier-13, Steno-13, Mocenigo-1, Foscari-407); Beirut, Lebanon: B. Braun and R. Huckles, 'A Hoard of Venetian Silver Coins, Part 1', *North American Journal of Numismatics*, 3-4 (1966), 332-40, and id., 'A Second Hoard of Venetian Silver Coins', *ibid.*, 5-6 (1967), 79-85 (Venier-31, Steno-2, Mocenigo-2, Foscari-15) — this represents two parcels of coins believed to derive from one hoard.

54. MS notes of Vincenzo Lazari, Museo Civico Correr, Biblioteca Papadopoli, No. 92, Vol. 8, fasc. 3, 3; I thank Andrea Saccocci for drawing my attention to the record of this find.

55. San Giorgio, see n. 52 above (Venier-48, Steno-435, Mocenigo-11, Foscari-62); and Molina di Ledro: Giuseppe Gerola, 'Un ripostiglio di quattrini meranesi a Molina di Ledro', *Archivio per l'Alto Adige*, 15 (1920), 233-56 (Venier-1, Steno-32, Mocenigo-26, Foscari-18).

56. P. Spufford, 'Continental Coins in Late Medieval England', *The British Numismatic Journal*, 32 (1963), 132-9.

57. There were no seizures in London after 1415 and only a handful at Sandwich; in the currency legislation of Commons in 1423-24 the prohibition of galley halfpence was omitted and replaced by one against other foreign coins: Spufford, 'Continental Coins', 137.

confirms this trend: of 72 Venetian *soldini* reported found in England, 1 is in the name of Contarini and 11 of Venier from the late fourteenth century, 29 are in the name of Steno, only 1 is in the name of Mocenigo, and 1 is in the name of Foscari; the remaining 29 are from after 1485.⁵⁸ The sending of *soldini* to England under Mocenigo would hardly seem to have been of the magnitude specified in the *arenga*.

The independent evidence for minting in the reign of Tomaso Mocenigo then points to a generally low level by comparison with earlier reigns. If there was a recoinage in the last years of the reign it does not seem to have been on an unprecedented large scale. The figures given in the *arenga*, however, are in all cases enormously higher than those derived for any earlier period, most of which are themselves characterized as being unusually high. It would appear, then, that the minting figures in the *arenga* are considerably exaggerated.

What are the implications of this conclusion for our understanding of the *arenga* as a whole? It might be argued that Mocenigo gave exaggerated mint data to emphasize his accomplishments and impress his listeners with the seriousness of the challenge they faced in maintaining his legacy. This might have been true for a speech given before the multitudes, but the audience of the *arenga* was so much in the inner circle that they would have been invited into the Doge's private quarters while he was dying. Such a select audience would certainly have known if he was presenting statistics which were patently unrealistic. Even if the minting data were in the general realm of accuracy because of a huge recoinage in the past year, these listeners would certainly have known this and could hardly have been expected to take it as a reasonable precedent for future expectations.

In view of the inclusion in the text of the names of two denominations which were not in existence in the reign of Mocenigo (the *grossetto* and the *mezzanino*) and the omission of one which was clearly important then but not subsequently (the *tornesello*), it is more likely that the text itself was composed after the 1429 changes in the coinage under Foscari. With its huge quantities of gold and silver, it

58. These numbers are derived from those published by Spufford in 'Continental Coins', the files kept by the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum, and the Heberden Coin Room of the Ashmolean Museum; I am very grateful to Barrie J. Cook and Nicholas Mayhew of these respective collections for sharing their records with me. Also included are the pieces listed in K. Wheatley, 'Stour Valley and the Italian Connection', *The Searcher*, 6,6 (Feb. 1991), 38-41; I thank Nicholas Mayhew for bringing this article to my attention.

would have represented a retrospective vision of a golden age, a time when the mint was remembered as having been far more active and profitable than at present. It would provide an example of how the unwise policies taken by Doge Foscari had fulfilled the worst fears of his predecessor.

The exaggerated and apparently anachronistic mint statistics may have been added to the text of a genuine speech made by Mocenigo on his deathbed or on another occasion. Or they may be an indication that the entire *arenga* was the product of a later date, with some current political issues underlying the prophetic words put in the mouth of the dying Doge. The answer awaits a critical edition of the *arenga* as a whole and the Florentine speeches which appear related to it, and their analysis in the context of the political and economic history of Venice, Italy, and the Mediterranean in the fifteenth century. Until then, it is probably advisable to exercise caution in applying any of the statistics in the *arenga* to discussions of the Venetian economy or of commerce between Europe and the lands of the eastern Mediterranean.

Appendix

This is a collation of the coinage passage of the *Arenga* attributed to Doge Tomaso Mocenigo. The basic text (A) is BMV, Cl. VII, 763 (7960), fol. 22; variants are from BMV, Cl. VII, 794 (8503), fol. 24v (B); BMV, Cl. VII, 519 (8438) (C), fol. 203; and BMV, Cl. VII, 1568 (8016), fol. 415 (D). Variant readings are noted only for substantive differences, not for grammatical or spelling variants.

Vui avete veduto in nostra cecha^a bater ogni anno de oro ducati un milion e duxento milia^b; d'argento tra groseti^c, mezanini, e soldi^d e 800^{M f} al anno; g 500 ^{M h} vano all ano en la Soria e l'Egitoⁱ de groseti; e ne li nostri logi ze ne va: neli logi de terra firma tra mezanini^k e soldi ducati 100^{M l} e neli nostri^m logi da mare ne va ogni anno tra grosetti e soldi ducati 100^{M n}. In Ingilterra ogni anno soldi per ducati 100^{M o}. o resto roman in Venesia.

^acitade B. ^btresento milia C. ^cgrosi B, C. ^de soldi lacking C,D. ^educati B,C,D. ^fin B written over erasure; 900^M C. ^gdei quali B,C, D. ^hV millia marche B, ducati 50^M D. ⁱtra Egipto e la Soria B; only Soria D. ^jde groseti lacking in D. ^kgrossetti D. ^l50^M C, 200^M D. ^maltri D. ⁿphrase lacking in C; 50 milia B; X^M D. ^oPhrase lacking in D.

Public Documents and Notarial Praxis: Some Examples from Venetian Greece of the Early Fourteenth Century

Maria Francesca Tiepolo

We are acquainted, in broad outlines, with the history of the archives of Venetian Crete during the period of Venetian rule — both the archives of the duke and the archives of the notaries of Candia — brought to Venice in 1670 after the loss of the island at the end of 25 years of war,¹ and now kept at the Venetian State Archives.² For many years I have been working on restoring the original order of those documents. My hope is finally to bring to conclusion the work attempted, but never completed, by several archivists since the nineteenth century, so as to enable their publication as definite inventories.

In the course of my work I came across the documents presented in this paper. It is my contention that they are of some interest, not only — and not particularly — because of the nature of the information that they provide, but basically because of their diplomatic characteristics. It is quite likely that additional documents will be found if more specific research is conducted.

This article was translated by Emmanuel Corinaldi.

1. For the war of Candia (1645-69), see G. Cozzi, 'Venezia nei secoli XVI e XVII', in id. *et al.*, *La Repubblica di Venezia nell'età moderna. Dal 1517 alla fine della Repubblica* (Turin, 1992), pp. 117-27, 195-6 (and bibliography).
2. E. Gerland, *Das Archiv des Herzogs von Kandia in Königlichen Staatsarchiv zu Venedig* (Strasburg, 1899), Archivio di Stato di Venezia, *Statistica degli atti custoditi nella Sezione notarile*, ed. B. Cecchetti (Venice, 1886), pp. 259-85; M.F. Tiepolo, 'Note sul riordino degli archivi del Duca e dei Notai di Candia nell'Archivio di Stato di Venezia', *Thesaurismata*, 10 (1973), 88-100; Archivio di Stato di Venezia, in Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali, Ufficio centrale per i beni archivistici, *Guida generale degli Archivi di Stato italiani*, Vol. IV (Rome, 1994), pp. 1008-10, 1069-70.

I refer to documents that were drawn up in Candia through the mediation of notaries, upon requests from Venetian dynasts of the Archipelago or from minor vassals of those same dynasts, dealing with feudal relations pertaining to public law. One of the documents contains the copy of another document, not drawn up in Candia but in Negroponte by a non-Venetian dynast.

Some of those documents have been previously mentioned by Karl Hopf. While pursuing his research on medieval Greece and on the Latin dynasts in the Levant, Hopf, around the middle of the nineteenth century, was one of the first historians — perhaps even the very first — who consulted the notarial archives of Candia,³ at the time kept at the General Notarial Archives in Venice. His work was obviously hampered by the fact that at that time those archives were poorly organized — some of the boxes were not even consecutively numbered. It is therefore not easy to identify and locate all the documents that he mentions, nor are his readings consistently accurate. Authorships and dates often must be corrected. Since his days, the surviving documents of each notary have been more correctly identified and reconstructed, and we know now that the same protocols, or even the same files, often include sheets from different times and from various notaries. However, irrespective of the justified criticism also levelled against his pioneering approach to the documents of the notaries of Candia,⁴ Hopf's work on medieval Greece was and remains an essential starting-point for any further study in depth.

I have chosen to highlight some documents⁵ that belong to that wide and diversified area that is a sort of bridge between private notarial documents and public chancery documents; those papers at times called semi-public or mixed,⁶ whose hybrid forms and multiple nuances may be seen as a link between the two spheres, and that allow us to clearly infer the transition from the professional figure of the notary to that of the chancellor, with a particular emphasis on the so-called minor chanceries — those belonging to communities, to churches, or, more

3. K. Hopf, *Veneto-byzantinische Analekten*, Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Classe, 32-3 (Vienna, 1859, repr. Amsterdam, 1964), *passim*.

4. I confine myself to quoting R.J. Loenertz, *Les Ghisi dynastes vénitiens dans l'Archipel, 1207-1390* (Florence, 1975), pp. 5-7, 65-7 (with reference to the notaries of Candia), and *passim*.

5. Throughout this article, I use the terms 'deed' and 'document' in their widest sense, not necessarily in their strict legal or diplomatic meaning.

6. A. Pratesi, *Genesi e forma del documento medievale* (Rome, 1979), pp. 29-30.

significantly, to the feudal lords or the lords of Italian towns. This whole allows us to follow the evolution both of the institutions and of the form of the documents — an evolution that gradually unfolds in parallel with the growth of a consciousness of their own autonomy of power, on the part of those in positions of authority as well as of the various institutions. This complex web represents one of the most fascinating problems of diplomatics.⁷

The examples that I have selected are not intended to present the whole picture. They are fairly recent, owing to the lack of older sources, and they refer to a field that does not appear to have been studied extensively from this angle. The transmission of the acts through the notarial records, rather than from the original documents, provides us with a better observation-point on the attitude of the notaries, who were, as indicated by Fissore,⁸ true protagonists in the process of transformation undergone by the documents that they both drafted and administered, reacting to the changes in the situation and in the juridical demands. The Latin notaries of Candia, whether deriving their authority from the emperor of the West or from Venice, do not behave differently from their colleagues in the Italian cities when they propose solutions that are, to a greater or to a lesser extent, innovative, in order to overcome difficulties incurred when drafting deeds that refer to public law through procedures belonging to the sphere of private law.

In the protocol of the notary Benvenuto de Brixano, one of the oldest that has come to light so far, we find, on 30 July 1301,⁹ the act through which Andrea Corner — son of the late Tommaso from Candia

7. On this subject it is enough to refer the reader to the classic L. Torelli, *Studi di diplomatica comunale*, published in 1911 and 1915 in the periodical publications of the Virgilian Academy of Mantova, now collected and reprinted (Rome, 1980), *Studi storici per la storia del notariato italiano*, 5; G.G. Fissore, of whose work note in particular, 'La diplomatica del documento comunale fra notariato e cancellaria. Gli atti del Comune di Asti e la loro collocazione nel quadro dei rapporti tra notai e potere', *Studi medievali*, Ser. III, 19 (1978), 211-44, where the definition of the hybrid or composite document is explained; A. Bartoli Langeli, 'Diplomi scaligeri', in G.M. Varanini (ed.), *Gli Scaligeri, 1277-1387* (Verona, 1988), pp. 77-90, valuable as well for his references to documents of the rulers of the fourteenth century. In particular I would like to stress the lucid analysis and observations in Langeli's work.

8. Fissore, *La diplomatica del documento comunale*, pp. 220-24 and *passim*.

9. Published in *Benvenuto de Brixano notaio in Candia, 1301-1302*, ed. R. Morozzo della Rocca (Venice 1950), pp. 93-4, doc. 253. The protocol is to be found in *Notai di Candia*, b. 141. The document is mentioned by S. Borsari, *Studi sulle colonie veneziane in Romania nel XIII secolo* (Naples, 1966), pp. 78-9.

and namesake of Andrea di Marco, head of the Cretan branch *de domo maiori* and future lord of Scarpanto (Karpathos)¹⁰ — grants (*do, concedo atque transacto*) to the Cretan citizen Giovanni (*Ianachi*) Mazamurdi one fourth of the same island of Scarpanto, of which, however, he is not yet in possession. It is quite likely that the concession is made because Corner needed the aid of Mazamurdi in his efforts to conquer the island (*donec insula acquistetur*).

Although the contents of the document stand out as being different, the formulas used in it are lifted, to a great extent, from those usual in acts that define the alienation of real estate. The text is not burdened by embellishments or solemn expressions, and conforms with the normal sequence of notarial protocols. Corner's name appears without any titles. The word 'feudum' is not mentioned, but the feudal connection created on the basis of the anticipated conquest becomes evident from the oath of fidelity and obedience on the part of the beneficiary, and from the services into which he is committed,¹¹ measured against the military *servicium* that Corner was expected to provide for the emperor — whose name is not mentioned, but who must be, beyond doubt, the Latin Emperor of the East.¹² It is to be recalled that a sub-infeodation was permitted, up to one-fourth or one-third of a feudal estate, by the praxis of the Empire of Romania.¹³ On describing the services due to

10. About the Cornaro family, rulers of Scarpanto, see Hopf, *Veneto-Byzantinische Analekten*, pp. 115-33; particularly about Andrea di Marco, see pp. 118-19, and the genealogy in the last table, where Andrea di Tommaso, is not mentioned. Id., *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues* (Paris, 1873, repr. Brussels 1966), Table VI, p. 489 of the repr. edn; G. Ravegnani, 'Corner, Andrea', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, Vol. 29 (Rome, 1983), pp. 153-5, who points out the existence of the two namesakes not easily differentiated.
11. The editor defines the document as a feudal grant (*Benvenuto de Brixano*, p. 229). Ravegnani, on the other hand, by mistake dates it to 31 July, and calls it a concession 'in perpetuum'.
12. The title-holder to the lost Latin Empire of the East was at the time Catherine de Courtenay, the daughter of Philip de Courtenay. He himself was the son of the last emperor, Baldwin II, and of Beatrice of Anjou, the daughter of King Charles I of Naples. Catherine a few months earlier had married Charles of Valois, the brother of Philip the Fair, King of France; cf. L. de Mas Latrie, *Tresor de chronologie* (Paris, 1889), cols. 1781-82.
13. Here and in following notes, I quote from P. Topping, *Feudal Institutions as Revealed in the Assises of Romania, the Law Code of Frankish Greece* (Pennsylvania, 1949), republished in id., *Studies on Latin Greece, AD 1202-1715* (London, 1977), and from the translation of the assizes therein; on the subinfeudation, assize 30, p. 33; and also see D. Jacoby, *La féodalité en Grèce médiévale. Les 'Assises de Romanie', sources, application et diffusion* (Paris, 1971), *passim*.

be rendered by the vassal, the notary appears to be ill at ease, as can be deduced from the corrections, however numerous they are in his other records as well. The word *Non*, noted in the margin, shows that he did not receive any immediate payment. The absence of a frame means that the document was not made public;¹⁴ on the other hand, the notary stresses that in event of publication the document ought to be written with particular care, so as to assure its full guarantee of validity: '*Debet fieri ad usum imperialem et Veneciarum melius quam de iure fieri potest*' — this shows that he refers not only to the praxis of the imperial notary of the Roman Empire of the West, but also to that of Venice.¹⁵

A problem that occurs in a similar situation is, however, otherwise solved, a few years later, by the notary Stefano Bon. His protocol is to be found together with the protocol of the notary Leonardo Querini, to whom, prior to the latest restoration, the entire contents of the box were attributed.¹⁶

On 9 September 1312, Andrea Barozzi from San Moisè, the Venetian feudal lord of the isles of Santorini and Thērasia,¹⁷ makes a feudal grant of some lands on the island of Santorini to Giovanni Venetando, son of Nicolò, whose family resides in Candia,¹⁸ and who had sworn fidelity and obedience and accepted the duties pertinent to his condition as vassal. The concession was made in recognition of the merits of Giovanni and of his father. The lands were already in possession of the same Giovanni, who had received them from his father-in-law, Giorgio Veneziano, as dowry of the wife, whose name is not mentioned.¹⁹

The form selected is that of the *vaxalagii et concessionis privilegium*. Also here the notary starts with *Die eodem*, respecting the usual notarial praxis, but soon turns to the more solemn pace of the

14. *Benvenuto de Brixano*, pp. ix-x.

15. A similar formula, *Ac fieri melius quam potest de iure*, is found only in the deed No. 503, enfranchising a villein (*ibid.*, p. 180, doc. 503).

16. *Notai di Candia*, b. 233.

17. On the Barozzi family, rulers of Santorini and Thērasia, see Hopf, *Veneto-Byzantinische Analekten*, pp. 16-33; esp. on Andrea, see pp. 28-30; *id.*, *Croniques gréco-romanes*, Table VI, p. 487; S. Borsari, 'Barozzi, Andrea', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, Vol. 6 (Rome, 1964), p. 494; *id.*, *Studi sulle colonie*, *passim*.

18. Nicolò and Giovanni Venetando, and other members of the family, are often mentioned in the notarial documents, also in relation to the Barozzi family and other patricians.

19. *Notai di Candia*, b. 233, c. 217v, the third before last document, Not. Stefano Bon, cf. App., doc. 2. It should be noted that the updated filing of the protocols is not yet final.

public documents. The *intitulatio* of Barozzi ('dominator insularum Sancte Herini et Thirasie'), here embellished by the use of the *plurale maiestatis*, is the one also constantly used in private documents, several of which I have found in the course of my research, on Barozzi and on other members of the same family, and which I do not list here in further detail.²⁰ Following the *notificatio*, the *narratio* mentions the merits of Giovanni Venetando for Andrea Barozzi ('fidei constanciam quam tu . . . habuisti erga nos et servicia nostra' — a formula often used), and the more detailed commendable qualities of Nicolò and his relations with Andrea's father Jacopo,²¹ during the conquest of the two islands from the Byzantines ('grata servicia que prefatus pater tuus in adquisicione predictarum insularum contulit bone memorie domino patri nostro').

The constitution of the feudal relationship — 'facimus te nostrum vaxalum eo modo et ordine quo sunt alii vaxali' — is explicitly spelled in the *dispositio* — 'iuxta bonam consuetudinem Imperii Romanie' — which we can also extend to the other document discussed previously. In both cases, the feudal relationship is of a minor level, *de plano homagio* (namely, a plain or simple homage), that required the beneficiary only to take an oath, as opposed to the principal feudal links, *de ligio homagio* (liege homage), that entailed the investiture ceremony and a much closer link of the vassal to his lord, comprising greater duties and honours:²² '*homo ligio* are the gentlemen barons of the council of the lord, in truth his vassals', as is stated in a codex of the sixteenth century.²³ The *de plano homagio* fiefs could involve not only landed estates, but also lesser or minimal feudal rights, to be

20. I refer, for example, to the fact that the testament of Auromplase, wife of Jacopo and mother of Andrea, who appears here for the first time with the title *admiratus Imperii Romanie* (*Notai di Candia*, b. 233, c. 106r-v, Not. Leonardo Querini), is dated 20 Nov. 1329, and not 1327 as suggested by Hopf, *Veneto-Byzantinische Analekten*, p. 27. The title *admiratus* is not mentioned in the deeds of 23 January (1327 *more veneto*) and 12 March 1328, in which Auromplase acts as the attorney for the son (*Notai di Candia*, b. 233, cc. 101v, 103r-v, Not. Leonardo Querini); the latter are erroneously dated by Hopf, *ibid.*, p. 27, 11 March 1327.

21. On Jacopo, see Hopf, *Veneto-Byzantinische Analekten*, pp. 24-7; S. Borsari, 'Barozzi, Jacopo', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, Vol. 6, pp. 501-2; *id.*, *Studi sulle colonie*, *passim*.

22. Topping, *Feudal Institutions*, assize 68, p. 50; assize 72, pp. 51-2, 105-8; Jacoby, *La féodalité*, *passim*.

23. Jacoby, *La féodalité*, p. 334, from a codex of assizes of the early sixteenth century: "homo ligio sono baroni zentilhomini del conseio del signor over suo vassalli".

granted to 'men of good faith of the people, over whom the ruler has more liberty than over liege men'.²⁴

In this particular case, the concession refers to 'totam illam terram . . . quam socer tuus tibi dedit pro repromissa', lands which in all probability were already bound in a feudal relationship, and therefore described in the appropriate land register, 'prout scripta est in quaterno curie nostre'.²⁵ In fact, if the dowry comprised feudal possessions, duly evaluated, a sort of reciprocal exchange of a different type took place between the spouses, provided they had slept one night under the same roof: the wife's dowry became a possession of the husband, while the wife acquired one half of the husband's fiefs.²⁶ This, in turn, necessitated the renewal of the oath and of the concession. The sole limitation to the free possession of the property by the vassal is the clause that calls for the agreement of the lord in case of alienation ('vendendo vel transactando').²⁷

The oath binds the vassal to loyalty and obedience, particularly when acting against any threat to the dynast and his islands, the vassal being obligated to notify the dynast or his provosts immediately:

Et si aliquid sciveris vel cognoveris fieri vel tractari contra honorem nostrum vel heredum nostrorum et bonum statum nostrarum predictarum insularum, quam cito poteris illud turbare curabis et nobis et heredibus nostris vel existentibus loco nostri in noticiam dabis.

The observance of such duties conditions the respect and the permanence of the privileges granted by the lord ('hoc nostri vaxalagii et concessionis privilegium firmum et ratum volumus semper haberi donec nobis et heredibus nostris, ut premissum est, obediens fueris et fidelis'); in fact, the lord could deprive the vassal of his fief, for a given period of time, or indefinitely, in cases of insubordination or infidelity.²⁸

24. Ibid: 'homeni da ben del populo sovra i quali el signor ha più libertà che non ha sovra homeni legii'.

25. Registers of the feudal estates are mentioned in assize 91; Topping, *Feudal Institutions*, p. 57; Jacoby, *La féodalité*, p. 67.

26. Topping, *Feudal Institutions*, assize 35, pp. 35-6, 150-54; Jacoby, *La féodalité*, p. 67.

27. Topping, *Feudal Institutions*, assize 30, p. 33.

28. Ibid., assize 24, p. 31; assize 49, 51, pp. 43-4; assize 69, pp. 50-51; assize 213, pp. 96, 109-11, 132-3; Jacoby, *La féodalité*, pp. 69-70; Loenertz, *Les Ghisi*, pp. 111-13, and doc. 9, pp. 298-300.

The *corroboratio*, with the *iussio* formula, typical of public deeds — of which, in fact, it is a qualifying element — gives validity and authenticity to the document, in view of the authority of the lord who had it drafted and ratified through the addition of his seal, the lead seal, common throughout the Eastern Empire under Byzantine influence ('in cuius rei testimonium et evidenciam plenioram presens privilegium tibi fieri fecimus et bulla nostra pendenti iussimus communiri').²⁹

The date, *Die eodem*, namely 9 September, written by the notary at the opening, as in all notarial minutes, should not be seen as part of the document itself. The date with a topical and chronicle value appears in its due place in the closing statements, introduced by the formula of the *actum*, without the *datum*, according to the usage in other public documents in the Eastern Empire.³⁰ The year *ab incarnatione* should be understood in a general sense; the indiction follows the custom of Greece or Constantinople, changed on 1 September.

We do not know whether the notary signed the original document handed to Giovanni Venetando. However, beyond the formulas and the contents, examples of which are also found in other documents, the point of main interest here is the unique and unexpected final note that the notary added to the protocol, with the intent to clarify his position and explain his professional behaviour in the context of the anomalous situation in which he feels somewhat trapped and of which he is fully aware.

In fact, he was obliged to record in the protocol a deed that receives juridical authenticity and is complete due to an external source of authority, and not from his own public corroboration — or, if at all, only in a secondary manner. Lacking an organic bond with the *auctor*, the notary none the less does not feel free to receive an order, a *iussio*, but rather, according to the rules, a *rogatio*. However, it is a *rogatio* of a special character, an appeal to him beyond his normal qualifications

29. For additional examples, see 'Urkunden zur älteren Handels und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig', ed. G.L. Fr. Tafel and G.M. Thomas, *Fontes rerum Austriacarum*, K. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, *Diplomataria et acta*, XIII, Pt. II (1205-1255), 1856, doc. 250, p. 197; doc. 289, p. 322; in many other cases, mention is made of *sigillo pendenti*, without indicating whether it is a *bull*a or not. I have not been able to consult G. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'Empire Latin* (Paris, 1884) and id., *et al.*, *Sigillographie de l'Orient Latin* (Paris, 1943).

30. Cited from 'Urkunden', XIII, Pt. II, doc. 205, p. 95; doc. 250, p. 197; doc. 256, p. 215; doc. 261, p. 232; doc. 262, p. 234; doc. 269, p. 255; doc. 289, p. 322; Pt. III (1256-99), 1857, doc. 348, pp. 50-51; doc. 349, p. 55; doc. 366, p. 133.

as notary, and that leads him almost to divest himself of his usual status while not yet acquiring another one, that of the chancellor. His task is rather similar to that of the *scriptor* ('fui rogatus scribere non sicut notarius'), even if he is, we admit, an implicitly qualified *scriptor*. So much so that Barozzi, finding himself out of his own territory, carrying his seal but deprived of any form of chancery, could only use the notarial office in order to grant the privilege. Appropriately, in line with this interpretation and this attitude, the notary omits the formalities typical of the private document; he records the absence of witnesses, deemed unnecessary in the case; restricts himself to the writing of the document and its delivery (*scripsi et dedi*); omits the formula of the *completio*, essential in the case of private documents; and abstains from enclosing the record in the frame of the *linea atramenti*, indicating the drafting of the deed and the delivery of the original paper: 'Sciendum est quod hoc brivilegium (= privilegium) fui rogatus scribere non sicut notarius et ideo non fuerunt more sollicito (= solito) testes rogati neque circumdavi linea atramenti set sic scripsi et dedi'.

The effort needed in order to solve the obscure problem comes through in the actual writing of the final note, in the minor slips quite unusual in Bon's work: *brivilegium*, *sollicito*, *testes* added above the line.

The next documents which I would like to present have a different content, but they reveal the same difficulties that the notaries try to elude or to overcome in various ways, though they appear unable to match Stefano Bon's refined sensibility and neat distinctions.

On 15 July 1317, through a deed written by the notary Angelo Donno,³¹ Giovanni Costaterra of Candia, title-holder to a fief on the island of Stampalia (Astipilea), enfranchises Maria, daughter of Stephanus Nicephorus of Stampalia, a *villanella*, belonging to his fief but resident in the *borgo* of Candia. The enfranchisement was also granted to her as yet unborn descendants.³² The document makes special mention of the fundamental liberties of movement, of establishing residence in any place, of disposing of personal property — all being

31. *Notai di Candia*, b. 8, c. 33, fifth document. See App., doc. 3.

32. According to the assize 174 (Topping, *Feudal Institutions*, p. 84), legitimate children followed the status of the father, while illegitimate children, that of the mother. However, see Jacoby, *La féodalité*, pp. 30-32.

the highest aspirations of the villeins or 'parici'.³³ The formulas, archaic, exquisite, and quite solemn, are those usually found in the deeds of franchise of villeins or slaves, also on the part of private individuals: 'Manifestum facio [. . .] ac notum facio omnibus Christi fidelibus quia divino amore dimitto te liberam et francham et te ab omni vinculo servitutis . . . absolvo [. . .] te Deo comendo et tocius matris Ecclesie deffensionis . . .'

The material *sanctio* — the payment of five pounds in gold, should the clauses not be fulfilled — though impracticable, is nevertheless included. In that case the enfranchisement would retain its validity (*contractu firmo*, according to the formula used in private documents). The record is the usual in notarial deeds, irrespective of the fact that it relates to a feudal matter: it closes with the names of the witnesses, *Complere et dare. Dedi*. The franchise, however, is not due only to the love of God: in fact, the next deed, of the same date, spells a very concrete reason: Iohannes Vergizi of Stampalia, resident in Candia, undertakes to pay six *iperperi* to Costaterra, in two half-yearly rates, probably in order to complete the payment of a more substantial amount.³⁴

Two years later, on 20 September 1319, a document of the notary Leonardo Querini tells of the enfranchisement of the villein Bertino Pisanello, both he and his descendants in perpetuity, by Andrea Barozzi. Pisanello, who lives in Candia, is the son of *quondam* Nicolò Pisanello, whose juridical condition is not mentioned, and of the *villana* Pota de Calamara, of the isle of Santorini, and therefore also one of Barozzi's serfs ('vinculo servitutis astrictus secundum formam iurium quibus utimur nos dominatores insularum').³⁵

33. On the situation of the villeins and on enfranchisements, see Topping, *Feudal Institutions*, pp. 172-3, and the assizes mentioned there; Borsari, *Studi sulle colonie*, pp. 114-23; F. Thiriet, 'La condition paysanne et les problèmes de l'exploitation rurale en Roumanie greco-vénitienne', *Studi veneziani*, 9 (1967), 35-68; id., *La Roumanie vénitienne au Moyen Âge. Le développement et l'exploitation du domaine colonial vénitien (XII^e-X^e siècles)* (2nd edn., Paris, 1975), pp. 294-88, *passim*; E. Santschi, 'Quelques aspects du statut des non-libres en Crète au XIV^e siècle', *Thesaurismata*, 9 (1972), 104-36; D. Jacoby, 'Les états latins en Roumanie; phénomènes sociaux et économiques (1204-1350 environ)', in *XV^e Congrès international d'études byzantines* (Athens, 1976), *Rapports et co-rapports*, Vol. I, *Histoire*, 3 . . . (Athens, 1976), pp. 1-56, repr. in id., *Recherches sur la Méditerranée orientale du XII^e au XV^e siècle. Peuples, sociétés, économies* (London, 1979).

34. *Notai di Candia*, b. 8, c. 33, sixth document. See App., doc. 4.

35. *Ibid.*, b. 233, c. 47, fourth document from the end. See App., doc. 5. Quoted, with some inaccuracies, by Hopf, *Veneto-Byzantinische Analecten*, p. 29.

The document is a *libertatis carta*. It is interesting to observe the variations in the formulas used, between those typical of private deeds, on the one hand, and those of public documents, on the other, as well as the hesitation of the notary — the trusted professional of the Barozzi family, for whom he drafts many private deeds. Such hesitation can also be detected in the slight grammatical errors (*mea* instead of *nostra*; *nostre libertatis cartam sibi* instead of *nostram . . . tibi*).

The opening phrases correspond to a regular notarial registration ('Die xx°. Manifestum facimus nos'). Notice, however, the fact that the *auctor* uses the *plurale maiestatis*, which Barozzi, as we know, reserves for public documents. Soon, however, the notary understands that he has to change his approach, and he is called upon — or even he himself decides — to raise the tone. Oddly enough, the exhortation appears in the document itself ('Dic: Notum fiat universis presentem paginam inspecturis'). The motivation appears to be the usual ('considerantes fidei constanciam quam tu habuisti in obediendo preceptis nostris'), and the *dispositio* is similar to the one discussed above, albeit richer in details. The *corroboratio* is represented by the seal, which must be the one more clearly indicated in Barozzi's preceding document; however, the specific verb is absent in the *iussio*: 'Unde ad futuram rei memoriam et huius rei evidenciam plenioram hanc nostre (= nostram) libertatis cartam sibi (= tibi) fieri fecimus ipsamque nostri sigili munimine roborari'. The date is missing in the closing statements, but it appears at the beginning. The witnesses are present, and so is the formula *Complere et dare*. The document is framed by the *linea atramenti*.

Finally, we come across a third act of enfranchisement, quite exceptional for some of its components. On 29 July 1322 the notary Ugolino Similiante, whose original protocols have all been lost,³⁶ through his colleague Angelo Donno,³⁷ enfranchises one of his (Similiante's) villeins, *Nichiforus* tis (= of) Calogreas, from the isle of Sifanto (Sifnos), evidently a fugitive sheltered on Crete. Nicephorus was one of three villeins who had been granted to him *ad rectum tensum* by Giovanni da Corogna, lord of Sifnos,³⁸ through a privilege

36. We know of his deeds only through other notaries.

37. *Notai di Candia*, b. 8, cc. 74v, 73 (inaccurate binding of the protocol). See App., doc. 6.

38. For information on the da (de) Corogna family, see K. Hopf, 'Giustiniani, Venezianer in Griechenland', in J.S. Ersch and J. Gruber, *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, Vol. 68, pp. 306-8 (quoted by

dated 4 March 1321 in Negroponte, drafted by the notary Azelino *quondam* Prospero Marchesi (*de Marchesiis*) from Reggio, and transcribed in its entirety in the act of enfranchisement. The feudal lord, in fact, under certain conditions of compensation, could transfer to others one or more villeins, even without the lands to which they belonged, up to one fifth of the value of the fief. In such cases, the beneficiary was not bound either by the oath of loyalty or by the pledge of homage.³⁹

Taken on its own, separated from the enclosed document, the act of enfranchisement, that obviously covers Nicephorus' descendants as well, follows the model usual for similar deeds, but it is somewhat exceptional in its flowery archaic forms, as if trying to fit into the solemn tone of the privilege ('manifestum facio [. . .] ac notum facio universis presentem paginam inspecturis quia autoritate et potestate michi tradita per privilegium infrascriptum . . .'). We find in it the motivation, couched in ideal terms ('considerans opus esse maximum pietatis servos et subditos a servitute perpetua liberare, divina pietatis intuitu meorum remissione peccatorum'), to which, however, is added the more tangible aspect of the 40 *iperperi* agreed upon for the enfranchisement, 30 of which having been paid beforehand, and 10 that Nicephorus, *olim villanus* . . . *nunc francus*, undertakes to pay within one year according to a separate deed, bearing the same date, that follows immediately in the register.⁴⁰ The *dispositio* is more diffuse than usually ('facio te perpetuo liberum et francum ab omni dacione, angaria et tello et quolibet alio vinculo servitutis . . .'). The *sanctio* bears a spiritual imprint ('Dei indignationem incurram'), but it does not neglect the material aspect as well, since the five pounds in gold — in fact unrealistically high — are also mentioned. There is only one witness. The *Complere et dare* is missing. The text is duly framed.

Loenertz, *Les Ghisi*, p. 113, n. 5), which I have taken from the translation by G.B. Sardagna, 'Di alcune dinastie latine nella Grecia. I Giustiniani di Venezia. I de' Corogna', *Archivio veneto*, 31 (1886), 162-7. On p. 162 (see note), Giovanni (Januli) is credited as probably having originated from the city of 'Corusia', which I have been unable to identify; conceivably, it could be La Coruña in Galicia (Spain). On p. 163 mention is made of the document dated 4 March 1322, with inaccuracies and not stating that it is inserted into another document. At the time, the cartulary was attributed to the notary Stefano Bon, whereas today we know that in fact only two folios are his. The genealogy of the da Corogna family is traced by Hopf in *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, Table VII, p. 492 of the reprint edn.

39. Topping, *Feudal Institutions*, assize 107, p. 62.

40. *Notai di Candia*, b. 8, c. 73, second document. See App., doc. 7.

Considered as a form, da Corogna's act is closer to a public document. The characteristic feature of the original was represented by the three pendant seals: the seal of the dynast, which in fact was ample enough to validate the paper, and the seals of the two authoritative witnesses, the nobleman Donato de Gribia and the notary Gerardino da Piacenza, 'ad maiorem cautellam et evidenciam pleniorum'. The two latter seals are defined in the closing phrases as bulls.⁴¹ Angelo Donno observes and touches the three seals ('a me infrascripto notario visis et tactis'), as if struck by the less usual formality. Further on, he appears uncertain as how best to define the act. Initially *instrumentum*, then *instrumentum et privilegium*, finally *privilegium*, as if to emphasize the aspects of ambiguity. In the actual text, the document is called *pagina* or *littere (patentes)*.⁴²

Apart from the notary's signature, the formulas are the same that appear in a public document. The *auctor* uses the *plurale maiestatis*, and the *notificatio* is solemn ('notum facimus universis presentem paginam inspecturis et audituris'). The *narratio* refers to the free will of the lord ('et nostra mera et spontanea voluntate atque de gratia speciali'), and to the specific merits of the beneficiary ('tuis requisicionibus meritorum in recuperandis nostris villanis et universis nostris negociis pertractandis et que deinceps procurare promittis'), who was busy trying to find and bring back the villeins of Sifnos who had taken refuge on Crete.

The *dispositio* is very analytic, with terms borrowed from the language of the 'assizes' (*tensum, sasinam*),⁴³ not usual in the documents of the notaries of Candia. In order to safeguard the rights that he acquires, the beneficiary is authorized to take possession of another villein, to be found in the same conditions as those that he is due to receive, as a replacement for the villein who may die leaving no

41. The use of the lead seal (*bolla plumbea*) by a Latin notary in the fourteenth century is quite exceptional; G.C. Bascapé, *Sigillografia. Il sigillo nella diplomazia, nel diritto, nella storia, nell'arte*, I, *Sigillografia generale. I sigilli pubblici e quelli privati* (Milan, 1969), pp. 359-77, in his study on *Bolle e sigilli di notai*, describes 'Latin and Latin-Byzantine' lead seals of notaries and protonotaries, working in civilian and ecclesiastical offices before the tenth century, as well as matrixes and wax bulls of notaries starting from the thirteenth century. The same author maintains that the word 'bolla' is always to be understood as a metallic seal.

42. Il Bartoli Langeli, *Diplomi scaligeri*, pp. 80-81, considers the current usage of the word 'diploma' to be inappropriate when applied to seignorial documents. He would rather use 'privilege' or 'letters patent'.

43. Topping, *Feudal Institutions*, *passim*.

heirs, or who may be taken away from him by abduction or by judiciary sentence. The yearly census to be paid to the lord is a pair of white gloves for Christmas, but only if they are duly requested. The vassal — that, in fact, is his status, albeit on a very lowly placement — must furthermore undertake to continue the search for villeins hiding in Crete, both men and women, as well as the actions that may derive therefrom.

The *corroboratio* stresses the affixing of the seal of the lord ('Et ad maiorem tuam cautellam et certitudinem omnium et singulorum predictorum presentem nostram paginam fecimus nostri sigili pendentis munimine roborari'), as well as the similar request made to the two witnesses ('ut hiis litteris apponant suas bullas in testimonium veritatis et ad maiorem firmitatem omnium predictorum'), who declare that they have obeyed. The *datatio*, as usual, has only the formula of the *actum*. Together with his signature, the notary Azelino Marchesi confines himself to the note *interfui et rogatus scripsi*, thus excluding that he might have received a *iussio*, and leaving out the formula of the *completio*.

APPENDICES

1

30 July 1301, Candia

Published in *Benvenuto de Brixano notaio in Candia, 1301-1302*, ed. R. Morozzo della Rocca (Venice, 1950), pp. 93-4, doc. 253.

Non.]

Die eodem. Manifestum facio ego Andreas Cornarius filius quondam Thome Cornario habitator Candide quia cum meis heredibus do, concedo atque in perpetuum transacto tibi Ianachi Maçamurdi habitatori dicte Candide et tuis heredibus totam et integram quartam partem tocius insule Scarpanthi cum omnibus suis habentiis, pertinentiis iuribus, iurisdicionibus, vineis, iardinis, molendinis, aquis, arboribus et vilanis cum plena virtute et potestate intromitendi, habendi, tenendi, standi, posidendi, habitandi, dandi, donandi, vendendi, alienandi, comutandi, cum suo havere tali quidem modo et condicione quod tu teneris et debes michi facere servicium pro quarto ipso ipsius insule in tanto quanto teneor per rationem facere debeo^a

inperatorib^b et tantum plus quod pro onore et statu meo et terre teneris donec insulam aquistetur, ire et tractare cum opus fuerit et te requisiero sicut ordinare^c voluero. Tu vero iurasti fidelitatem meam in dicta insula et esse obediens et fidelis^d in ipsa mea insula tu cum tuis heredibus. Testes Andreas Cauco, Comes, Marcus Mercadante et qui scribere nesciunt Antonius de Varino et Nicoletus de Plasencia ac alliis. Debet fieri ad usum imperialem et Veneciarum melius quam de iure fieri potest. Complere et dare.

-
- a. debeo *corretto* su debes.
 - b. inperator *in soprilinea*.
 - c. volueris *cancellato*.
 - d. H *cancellato*.

2

9 September 1312, Candia

Non.]

Die eodem. Nos Andreas Barozi dominator insularum Sancte Herini et Thirasie notum facimus universis presens privilegium inspecturis et audituris quod, considerantes fidei constanciam quam tu Iohannes Venetando filius Nicolai Venetando de Candida habuisti erga nos et servicia nostra et recolentes grata servicia que prefatus pater tuus in adquisicione predictarum insularum contulit bone memorie domino patri nostro, amodo in antea facimus te nostrum vaxalum eo modo et ordine quo sunt alii vaxali iuxta bonam consuetudinem Imperii Romanie, dantes et concedentes nichilominus tibi et heredibus tuis totam illam terram in nostra predicta insula Sancte Herini positam quam Georgius Venecianus socer tuus tibi dedit pro repromissa, prout scripta est in quaterno curie nostre, ad habendum, tenendum et possidendum eam libere imperpetuum, nemini tamen absque nostro consensu eam vendendo vel transactando set ceteras tuas utilitates de ea et ex ea tu et heredes tui sicut vobis magis placuerit faciendo nemine vobis contradicente. Tu vero iurasti fidelitatem nostram et heredum nostrorum imperpetuum et de obediendo preceptis nostris et heredum nostrorum. Et si aliquid sciveris vel cognoveris fieri vel tractari contra honorem nostrum vel heredum nostrorum et bonum statum nostrarum predictarum insularum, quam cito poteris illud turbare curabis et nobis et heredibus nostris vel existentibus loco nostri in noticiam dabis. Unde

hoc nostri vaxalagii et concessionis privilegium firmum et ratum volumus semper haberi donec nobis et heredibus nostris, ut premissum est, obediens fueris et fidelis. In cuius rei testimonium et evidenciam pleniorum presens privilegium tibi fieri fecimus et bulla nostra pendenti iussimus communiri. Actum Candide insule Crete, anno ab incarnatione domini nostri Ihesu Christi M^oCCCXII, mense septembris, die .VIII. intrante, undecima indicione.

Sciendum est quod hoc privilegium [= privilegium] fui rogatus scribere non sicut notarius et ideo non fuerunt more sollicito [= solito] testes^a rogati neque circumdavi linea atramenti set sic scripsi et dedi.

Notai di Candia, b. 233, Not. Stefano Bon, parchment protocol, c. 217v, third document from the end.

a. 'testes' in superscript.

3

15 July 1317, Candia

Solvit.]

Die XV^o. Manifestum facio ego Iohannes Costatera habitator Candide cum meis heredibus tibi Marie filie Stephani Nichiforo de Stimpalia, villanelle mee michi pertinenti iure mei feudi de Stimpalia habitatrici burgi Candide,^a ac notum facio omnibus Christi fidelibus quia divino amore dimitto te liberam et francham et te ab omni vinculo servitutis quo michi hactenus subiacuisti^b vel subiacere debebas absolve cum omnibus qui a te nascituri sunt. Insuper tam tu quam qui ex te nascituri sunt eant et habitant quocumque eis placuerit et nullo teneantur vinculo servitutis. Quicquid autem studio et labore acquisieris in tua remaneat potestate ad faciendum quicquid tibi placuerit, quapropter te Deo comendo et tocius matris Ecclesie deffensionem. Si quis igitur et cetera, pena librarum auri quinque, contractu firmo. Testes A[n-tonius] Belli, A[n-tonius] Habramo et Antonius Sclavo.

Complere ed dare. Dedi.^c

Notai di Candia, b. 8, Not. Angelo Donno, c. 33, fifth document.

a. From 'habitatrici', added in the margin.

b. Follows 'ab', deleted.

c. 'Dedi' written in a different ink.

4

15 July 1317, Candia

Solvit.]

Eodem die. Manifestum facio ego Iohannes Vergizi de Stimpalia habitator Candide cum meis heredibus tibi Iohanni Costatera habitatori eiusdem Candide et tuis heredibus quia pro eo quod liberasti et francasti Mariam tuam villanellam filiam Stephani Nichiforo debeo tibi dare amodo usque ad unum annum yperpera in Creta curentia sex in hiis duobus teminis, medietatem in complemento mensium sex et aliam medietatem in complemento aliorum mensium sex salva in terra cum periculo et occasione remota. Hec autem, pena duppli pro quolibet termino et de quinque sex per annum. Testes Antonius Belli, Antonius Habramo et Antonius Sclavo. Complere et dare. Dedi.^a

Notai di Candia, b. 8, Not. Angelo Donno, c. 33, sixth document.

a. 'dedi' written in a different ink.

5

20 September 1319, Candia

Die XX^o. Manifestum facimus nos Andreas Barozi insularum Sancte Herini et Thirassie dominator habitator Candide cum nostris heredibus. Dic: Notum fiat universis presentem paginam inspecturis quod, cum tu Bertinus Pisanelo filius quondam Nicolai Pisanelo habitator Candide, natus ex Potha de Calamara villana mea de ratione insule Sancte Herini fores nobis vinculo servitutis astrictus secundum formam iurium quibus utimur nos dominatores insularum, nunc autem, considerantes fidei constanciam quam tu habuisti in obediendo preceptis nostris, facimus te et tuos heredes et proheredes francos et liberos ab omni vinculo servitutis quo nobis hactenus subiacuisti vel subiacere poteras. Ita tamen quod liber et absolutus sis tu et tui heredes et proheredes imperpetuum, unde sta et habita ubicumque tibi placuerit et nullo vinculo servitutis detinearis set proprii iuris existas, quitquid autem tuo studio et labore acquisieris in tua et tuorum heredum et proheredum libertate permaneat, nec ulterius alicui liceat te subiugare aliquo vinculo servitutis quantum ad ius quo nobis vinculo servitutis eras astrictus, quare te defensionis sancte matris Ecclesie comendamus. Unde

ad futuram rei memoriam et huius rei evidenciam plenioram hanc nostre libertatis cartam sibi fieri fecimus ipsamque nostri sigili munimine roborari. Testes Marcus Barozi et Hemanuel Venetando. Complere et dare.

Notai di Candia, b. 233, Not. Leonardo Querini, c. 47, fourth document from the end.

6

29 July 1322, Candia, with inserted copy of another document dated 4 March of the same year, Negroponte.

Die XX^oVIII^o. Per virtutem et potestatem unius instrumenti facti et scripti manu Azelini filii quondam Prosperi de Marchesiis imperiali auctoritate notarii, facti Nigroponti anno domini M^oCCC^oXXII, indicione V^a, die IIII^o mense marcii intrante muniti et roborati tribus sigillis pendentibus, uno sigillo nobilis viri domini Iohannis de Corogna dominatoris insule Syffani, altero nobilis viri Donati de Gribia et reliquo tercio Gerardini de Placencia notarii ad maiorem cautellam et evidenciam plenioram instrumenti et privilegii predicti, a me infrascripto notario visis et tactis, cuius instrumenti et privilegii tenor per omnia talis est: 'Nos Iohannes de Corogna dominator insule Syffani notum facimus universis presentem paginam inspecturis et audituris quod per nos et nostros heredes ex nostra mera et spontanea voluntate atque de gratia speciali, tuis requisicionibus meritorum in recuperandis nostris villanis et universis nostris negociis pertractandis et que deinceps procurare promittis, dedimus, concessimus, deliberavimus et transactavimus ad rectum tensum tibi discreto viro Ugolino Symiliante notario habitatori Candide insule Crete et tuis heredibus imperpetuum tres ex nostris villanis nobis pertinentibus ex iure nostro insule Syffani suprascripte, videlicet Nichiforum tis Calogreas, Iohannem tis Aretis et Amarandum Lignopodhi qui reperiuntur esse in insula Crete cum omnibus eorum heredibus et bonis suis existentibus in insula Crete, de quibus et eorum heredibus atque bonis ex nunc te possimus in sasinam et corporalem tenutam et possessionem cum plenitudine nostri arbitrii et autoritatis ad intromittendum, habendum, tenendum, possidendum perpetuo, in tenutam et corporalem possessionem ipsorum intrandum et alios de tenuta et corporali possessione eiecendum, daciones, hengarias reales et personales et omnia iura tua ab eis et eorum heredibus exigendum, nec non afflictandum, disfactandum, vendendum,

alienandum, donandum, dominandum, pignori obligandum et de ipsis eorumque heredibus sicut de re tua propria tuam faciendum voluntatem nemine tibi contradicente; quos quidem villanos tibi tuisque heredibus per nos et nostros heredes promittimus et debemus deffendere et guarentare in possessione omnium predictorum; et si contigeret aliqui ipsorum vel aliquis mori sine heredibus vel tibi sive tuis heredibus accipi^a aut occupari per iudicium aut sentenciam aliquam, tibi tuisque heredibus sit licitum ex nostra autoritate quam ex nunc tibi et tuis heredibus concessimus alium vel alios ex nostris villanis qui ibi in Creta reperientur nobis pertinentibus iure nostro insule suprascripte accipere et habere loco taliter morientis vel taliter accepti cum suis heredibus modo et ordine suprascriptis. Pro censu vero et nomine census predictorum villanorum nobis et heredibus nostris vel nostro misso dare debes cum tuis heredibus quolibet anno in festo Nativitatis Dominice, si per nos vel nostrum nuncium fueris vel fuerint tui heredes legitime requisiti, par .I. guantorum alborum, alioquin nullum tibi ex eis preiudicium gravetur. Teneris insuper tuo posse bona fide sine fraude attendere ad recuperandum nostro nomine nostros villanos tam mares quam feminas in Creta existentes et eos manutenendum et nostro nomine possidendum et deffendendum tuo posse a quibuscumque personis, colegiis vel universitatibus volentibus eos nobis molestare vel occupare. Et ad maiorem tuam cautellam et certitudinem omnium et singulorum predictorum presentem nostram paginam fecimus nostri sigili pendentis munimine roborari****b, nobilem virum Donatum de Gribia et Gerardinum de Placencia notarium ut hiis litteris apponant suas bullas in testimonium veritatis et ad maiorem firmitatem omnium predictorum. Unde nos predicti Donatus et Gerardinus ad preces et requisicionem dicti domini Iohannis Corogna hiis litteris apposuimus nostras bullas in testimonium veritatis et ad maiorem firmitatem omnium predictorum. Actum Nigroponti, currente anno Domini M^oCCC^oXXII^o, indicione quinta, die IIII^o mense marcii intrante. Ego Azelinus filius quondam Prosperi de Marchesiis de Regio imperiali autoritate notarius hiis omnibus interfui et rogatus scripsi.' Quapropter manifestum facio ego suprascriptus Ugolinus Symiliente notarius habitator Candide cum meis heredibus tibi suprascripto Nichiforo tis Calogreas meo villano, uno ex suprascriptis, et tuis heredibus et proheredibus, habitatori in burgo Candide, ac notum facio universis presentem paginam inspecturis quia autoritate et potestate michi tradita per privilegium suprascriptum, considerans opus esse maximum pietatis servos et subditos a servitute perpetua liberare, divine pietatis intuitu meorum remissione peccatorum ac etiam pro yperperis quadraginta que michi dare promisisti, de quibus iam michi dedisti

yperpera triginta et reliqua yperpera .X. michi dare teneris ut patet per unam manifestacionis cartam factam manu infrascripti notarii hoc eodem anno, mense, die, indicione et loco predictis usque ad annum unum, facio te perpetuo liberum et francum ab omni dacione, angaria et tello et quolibet alio vinculo servitutis quo michi subiacuisti seu deinceps subiacere debebas tam tu quam omnes qui ex te nati vel nascituri sunt, ita quod deinceps tam tu quam omnes tui heredes nati et nascituri tamquam liberi eas, stes et ambulles quocumque tibi placuerit, nec ulterius liceat te amplius servitutis vinculo subiugare, quicquid autem acquisieris in tua maneat potestate ad faciendum quicquid tibi placuerit. Quapropter te Deo comendo et tocius matris Ecclesie deffensionem. Si igitur, Dei indignacionem incurram et insuper componam cum meis heredibus tibi et tuis heredibus auri libras quinque, contractu firmo. Testes Bortholomeus Dono.

Notai di Candia, b. 8, Not. Angelo Donno, cc. 74v, 73 (owing to incorrect binding).

- a. 'seu' deleted.
- b. Words illegible, even under UV lighting.

7

29 July 1322, Candia

Eodem die. Manifestum facio ego suprascriptus Nichiforus tis Calogreas olim villanus Ugolini Symilante notarii nunc francus, habitator in burgo Candide, cum meis heredibus tibi Ugolino Symilante notario olim meo domino habitatori Candide et tuis heredibus quod pro residuo solucionis yperperorum .XL. que tibi dare promissi pro mea redempcione debeo et teneor tibi dare amodo usque ad annum unum prius venturum vel antea yperpera in Creta curentia .X. salva in terra. Hec autem, pena grossi unius pro quolibet yperpero et suprascripta yperpera. Testes suprascripti. Complere et dare. Cancellata est de consensu creditoris.^a

Notai di Candia, b. 8, Not. Angelo Donno, c. 73, secondo documento.

- a. From 'Cancellata' in different ink.

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